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The past and prospective
extension of the gospel by

THE PAST AND PROSPECTIVE EXTENSION
OF THE GOSPEL
BY MISSIONS TO THE HEATHEN:

CONSIDERED IN

EIGHT LECTURES,

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

IN THE YEAR MDCCC XLIII.

AT THE LECTURE FOUNDED BY JOHN BAMPTON, M.A.
CANON OF SALISBURY.

BY
✓
ANTHONY GRANT, D.C.L.

VICAR OF ROMFORD, ESSEX, AND LATE FELLOW OF NEW COLLEGE.

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"VULGARES ANIMÆ CONSTITUTAM ECCLESIAM CONSERVARE
QUEUNT; SED ALIQUAM DE NOVO ERIGERE, UT REMPUBLICAM,
TANTUM HEROUM EST."

Vit. Ant. Walæi in Vit. elect. Vir p. 648.

TO
THE RIGHT REVEREND
THE BISHOPS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,
IN THE COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES OF GREAT BRITAIN,
WHO OCCUPY
THE FOREMOST POSTS IN THE BATTLE-FIELD OF THE CHURCH,
TO CONFRONT HEATHENISM,
AND PLANT
THE CHRISTIANITY OF FUTURE KINGDOMS,
THIS VOLUME
IS INSCRIBED.

5

EXTRACT
FROM
THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT
OF THE LATE
REV. JOHN BAMPTON,
CANON OF SALISBURY.

—— “ I give and bequeath my Lands and Estates
“ to the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the
“ University of Oxford for ever, to have and to hold
“ all and singular the said Lands or Estates upon trust,
“ and to the intents and purposes hereinafter mentioned ;
“ that is to say, I will and appoint that the Vice-Chan-
“ cellor of the University of Oxford for the time being
“ shall take and receive all the rents, issues, and profits
“ thereof, and (after all taxes, reparations, and necessary
“ deductions made) that he pay all the remainder to the
“ endowment of eight Divinity Lecture Sermons, to be
“ established for ever in the said University, and to be
“ performed in the manner following :

“ I direct and appoint, that, upon the first Tuesday
“ in Easter Term, a Lecturer be yearly chosen by the
“ Heads of Colleges only, and by no others, in the room
“ adjoining to the Printing-House, between the hours
“ of ten in the morning and two in the afternoon, to
“ preach eight Divinity Lecture Sermons, the year
“ following, at St. Mary’s in Oxford, between the com-
“ mencement of the last month in Lent Term, and the
“ end of the third week in Act Term.

“ Also I direct and appoint, that the eight Divinity
“ Lecture Sermons shall be preached upon either of
“ the following Subjects—to confirm and establish the
“ Christian Faith, and to confute all hereties and schis-
“ matics—upon the divine authority of the holy Scrip-
“ tures—upon the authority of the writings of the
“ primitive Fathers, as to the faith and practice of the
“ primitive Church—upon the Divinity of our Lord
“ and Saviour Jesus Christ—upon the Divinity of the
“ Holy Ghost—upon the Articles of the Christian Faith
“ as comprehended in the Apostles’ and Nicene Creeds.

“ Also I direct, that thirty copies of the eight
“ Divinity Lecture Sermons shall be always printed,
“ within two months after they are preached, and one
“ copy shall be given to the Chancellor of the Univer-
“ sity, and one copy to the Head of every College, and
“ one copy to the Mayor of the city of Oxford, and one
“ copy to be put into the Bodleian Library; and the
“ expence of printing them shall be paid out of the
“ revenue of the Land or Estates given for establishing
“ the Divinity Lecture Sermons; and the Preacher
“ shall not be paid, nor be entitled to the revenue,
“ before they are printed.

“ Also I direct and appoint, that no person shall be
“ qualified to preach the Divinity Lecture Sermons,
“ unless he hath taken the degree of Master of Arts at
“ least, in one of the two Universities of Oxford or
“ Cambridge; and that the same person shall never
“ preach the Divinity Lecture Sermons twice.”

P R E F A C E.

THE following Lectures, though delivered before a learned audience, are composed in a popular form, and are designed to convey to as many as take an interest in the subject, a general view of the extension of the Gospel among the heathen, and to elicit those principles by which it has been, and may be, accomplished most successfully, and in accordance with the purpose of God. For a long period, until later years, Missionary enterprises were, in the minds of many members of our Church, identified with a certain cast of religious opinion and character, which caused offence to sober-minded Christians, while the work itself was discredited by others, because it was

disconnected from the authority and direction of the Church. The cause that was thus enterprised, was, however, based upon truth and christian duty, and therefore it gained a hearing, and has made its way. But the interest that was created in its behalf, and which has now for many years been advancing at an accelerated ratio, and constitutes one of the encouraging signs that mark our times, awakened, also, in the minds of reflecting Christians, a conviction that something beyond the principles of action upon which this “work of Christ” has been undertaken, was imperatively needed for its due accomplishment. It began to be felt that there was no unity of design, no steadiness of operation in the plans that were adopted ; that different Societies, and individuals, had their favourite schemes, or spheres of action, and were frequently set in rivalry against each other ; that the methods by which this great duty was advocated at home, and conducted abroad,

were not such as could compass the various forms and vast systems of Paganism which were to be displaced : some great let and hindrance seemed to be thwarting the irregular, uncombined efforts that were made ; sounds of dissension, sometimes of misgiving, came from abroad ; and no commensurate success was seen to follow on the amount of expenditure and activity that was devoted to the work.

These thoughts, together with the taunt which was frequently repeated, that, since its separation from Rome, reformed Christendom had lost its expansive power, gave rise to a consideration of the subject. It naturally occurred to examine the truth of the statement, to reflect upon the cause of it, as far as it was well-grounded, to turn to Scripture and past experience, and discover wherein the defect lay. And here it was perceived that the subject had not been treated of in our books of theology, that no specific rules had been laid down, nor organization pro-

vided for the execution of this great function of the Church, the evangelizing of the heathen. On referring to the publications that were constantly issuing from the press, it was found that, instead of supplying the want of information that was felt, they served only to increase a sense of it. It was impossible, on reading them, not to be struck with the narrowness and unfairness with which most of them were written. On the one hand, Roman Catholics clearly did injustice to the missionary efforts of Protestants; while, on the other hand, the treatises and writings of many Protestants seemed composed under the impression that no such thing as Roman Catholic missions existed; that, at least before the Reformation, the design of evangelizing the world was a thing unheard of; that it had been reserved for this age almost to commence the work, for which a new theory of missions, new methods, and machinery, and system of action were to be provided.

A sense, then, of the insufficiency and faultiness of the recent modes of conducting missionary enterprises ;—the absence of a work, accessible to ordinary readers, which offered a general view, past and present, of these operations ;—a pressing conviction that the Son of God had provided a means for executing His last command, and the great purpose of His Redeeming Sacrifice ;—a recollection of those two great triumphs of the Church, over Roman civilization, and mediæval barbarism ;—the wonderful expansion of the Empire of Great Britain, whereby, through her colonies, she is brought into contact with almost the entire heathen world ;—the great national responsibility which lies upon her, and upon the Church within her borders, to discern God's Hand in this conjuncture and to execute His will ;—these considerations pointed out the subject as one that opened a field of solemn enquiry and reflection, that deserved and demanded attention, and

would soon thrust itself upon the notice of the Church,—one that might suitably be brought before, as it was sure to engage the interest of, a body of the youth of England in one of our Universities, destined to occupy, ere long, the most important posts in the Church and State, and to exercise a vast influence on the future interests of our country. In undertaking this task I was not unconscious—I am, at its conclusion, more than ever conscious—of its engrossing importance, and of the difficulty of executing it at all worthily; I was conscious that it would be scarcely possible to avoid giving offence; that it is, at all times, an ungracious task to run counter to received methods of action, especially when directed towards a good object; and that, just now, to recall men's minds to ancient modes of thinking and acting is regarded, by a great number, with peculiar suspicion. Under this impression, I can hardly expect to escape

misconstruction and censure, though I venture to hope that some deliberate and serious attention will, at least, be drawn to the subject which is treated of, and to the points of principle and pressing duty that are involved in it.

For the purpose, however, of removing, as much as may be, all cause for objection, it may be permitted to make a few remarks on one or two heads on which misconception might arise.

First, I would observe that, in noticing the later missionary proceedings, subsequent to the Reformation, priority in point of time has determined the order in which they have been reviewed.

Next, let it be borne in mind that it formed no part of the design of these Lectures to detail the operations of individual Societies. It is quite possible that some particular missions of interest may be found to have been unnoticed, and that a charge of unfairness may be alleged in consequence. But, be it remembered, it

was clearly impracticable to embody the substance of Reports in a Lecture; nor was it my object to detail the successes of this or that Association, but to examine the principles upon which missions in general were conducted, and to adduce such instances as might illustrate what was advanced.

Thirdly, in consequence of a suggestion which has been made, that the competency of the Abbé Dubois, (whose letters are quoted in Lecture V.) as a Roman Catholic authority, might be disputed, I feel bound to state the simple grounds upon which I deem that his evidence cannot fairly be questioned. In the first place, I find that his statements, on the subject of missions, are referred to as indisputable by one of the most able and zealous Roman Catholic apologists.¹ Secondly, considerable portions of the very letters from which I quote (omitting, of course, the unfavour-

¹ Dr. Wiseman, *On the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church*, Lect. VII. pp. 223, 224.

able representations) are published in the “*Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*,” and the name of M. Dubois, as the source of the information, is expressly given “pour donner à notre récit l’appui d’une autorité recommandable.”¹ Thirdly, on his return from India he was appointed Director of the Seminary of Missions in Paris,² which office of trust, I believe, he now holds. And lastly, the material part of the statements for which he is quoted is confirmed by other evidence.

Once more; I am aware that, amid the pressing needs by which the Church of England is surrounded, and its energies are taxed, even at home, and by our own countrymen, it may be thought a questionable wisdom to press the duty of labouring for its extension abroad. Without repeating any argument advanced in the Lectures, I would venture, on this point, to urge two considerations.—In the

¹ *Annales*, vol. iii. p. 49.

² *Ibid.* vol. i. No. VI. p. 30.

first place, it is no longer a question whether the heathen shall be left to themselves. Our colonies are already planted in the midst of them; they are our fellow-subjects; we *must*, as a nation, exercise an untold influence upon them; already the tendency of an unhallowed influence has been witnessed in two fearful results,—the extermination of whole races, and a dark scepticism in many of those heathen who have learnt to cast off their native superstitions. Therefore must the Church extend herself with the extension of our Empire, even to prevent our country from becoming a curse to the pagan world, even, also, to save our own countrymen from lapsing into a state of apostate infidelity, more fatal than pagan darkness. The duty is no longer one of option, but of necessity, simply to check a national sin, and to preserve ourselves. And besides this, even supposing it were, under any circumstances, desirable, yet it is no longer possible, to hinder the Gospel from being

made known among the heathen nations which border upon our colonies. If the Church do not propagate the Gospel, other self-appointed teachers will. And although Christianity, however made known, would be a gain to the heathen, yet we cannot shut our eyes to the ills likely to arise from its being planted by uncommissioned and rival bodies. They will multiply their private opinions and divisions among their pagan converts and in our colonies, they will spread their dissocialising principles which, whether developed in the form of independence in religion, or republicanism in politics, are destructive of the national life of kingdoms ; elements of disturbance will ever be agitating these infant settlements, the effects of which will be felt in their reflux upon the mother country ; so that, setting aside the grounds of religious obligation, merely on national considerations, the Church cannot choose but meet this newly-risen but ever-growing evil, and, carrying her divine system into foreign settle-

ments, secure the Christianity and the true social organization of these future nations.

How this great demand may be met,—how the Church shall discharge, at all adequately, this immense duty,—what forms of agency she shall call forth from her expansive system,—what portions of her ancient organization she shall revive to grapple with this great emergency, are questions which it belongs to the wisdom of our spiritual rulers, and to no private individual, to weigh and determine. But I would observe further, that, together with these larger questions, there are several wants in the detail and machinery of our missions, affecting the treatment and instruction of converts, which it was felt unfitting to introduce in the body of a discourse, but which require to be supplied, and for which no specific provision has hitherto been made. Among these occurs, primarily, the necessity of an Office for Catechumens, or the partially-instructed heathen, for whom “the

Order of Common Prayer," however beautifully constructed for a Christian and civilized community, must be obviously unsuited.¹ Then a course of authorized catechetical teaching for hearers and neophytes,—rules and means of discipline for the lapsed,—forms of exclusion and reconciliation,—directions for the treatment of polygamist converts,—these and several other points, which the practical experience of missionaries makes known, need to be considered and regulated; while the settlement of them is rendered the more difficult and the more indispensable by the sad state of schism, and by the rival communities which are found existing in the very face of the heathen.

¹ It appears that such a variation from the received form of public worship, as is suggested, was not unknown in the early Church. Indeed, under certain limitations, each Bishop possessed the liberty of "forming his own Liturgy in what method and words he thought proper, only keeping to the analogy of faith and sound doctrine." The substance of the "one form of worship throughout the Church" was preserved in each Liturgy, it was adapted only to the peculiar wants of particular Dioceses; and protection from any abuse of this liberty, by which the faith might be endangered, was secured by the accountability of each Bishop to the whole synod of Bishops.—Bingham, *Antiq.* Book II. ch. v. sect. 2.

In every quarter, the evil results into which the recent methods employed in the conversion of the heathen have begun to work themselves, naturally direct the eyes of thoughtful members of the Church towards the resumption by her of that apostolic function which she is commissioned to exercise, and towards the enlargement and application of her divine polity, by which these evils may be remedied, and the Gospel sped on its way. And though I speak thus unreservedly, I do so with the deep feeling that, whatever thoughts or hopes any individual may entertain on this subject, yet his present duty, superseding any private conviction, is zealously to give effect to such counsels as our spiritual rulers may devise, and to advance the work by such means as they shall recommend; otherwise, so great a discomfiture, and such a disastrous blow to the Christianity of our foreign dependencies, and to the conversion of the heathen who encompass them, will immediately ensue, as perhaps no future

efforts will be ever able to repair. In any revival of principles, or of forgotten forms of polity or truth, it must necessarily be, that, for a time, our practice should fall short of our theory ; and should any feel that they are called upon to acquiesce, somewhat reluctantly, in this law, they may reflect that they will be acquiescing also in a line of duty, which, like every other, will be charged with blessing to those who walk therein.

No one, perhaps, can take leave of a work in which he has been, for a season, engaged and engrossed, without a wish to say somewhat of the circumstances attending its performance. All, however, that I would desire to remark concerning it, is, that it has been accomplished in the midst of many other duties, and that I have had very frequently to lament the want of books which I was debarred from the means of obtaining, or have been able to obtain only with delay and difficulty. I am bound, however, to express my

thanks to many individuals, and some public bodies, for the free use of many works which are continually referred to in these pages.

Having thus completed my task, I commend it to the spiritual rulers of the Church in this land and its dependencies, in the humble hope that it may subserve their counsels in the execution of that apostolic office of the Church of which it treats; that it may lead some to reflect and inquire into the principles upon which this and all other great works for Christianizing the world should be conducted; and be accepted of HIM whose glory it is humbly designed to advance.

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“ ET TU LEVA OCULOS QUOSDAM CONSIDERATIONIS TULÆ, ET VIDE
REGIONES, SI NON SUNT MAGIS SICCÆ AD IGNEM, QUAM ALBÆ AD
MESSEM. . . . NONNE SI EXIS, ET CERNIS ISTA, PUDEBIT OTIOSAM
JACERE SECURIM, PUDEBIT SINE CAUSA FALCEM APOSTOLICAM
ACCEPISSE ? ”

Bernard. de Consid. lib. ii. cap. vi. sect. 12.

LECTURE I.

THE UNIVERSALITY AND PREDICTED EXTENSION OF THE GOSPEL.

MALACHI I. 11.

FOR FROM THE RISING OF THE SUN EVEN UNTO THE GOING DOWN OF THE SAME MY NAME SHALL BE GREAT AMONG THE GENTILES; AND IN EVERY PLACE INCENSE SHALL BE OFFERED UNTO MY NAME, AND A PURE OFFERING: FOR MY NAME SHALL BE GREAT AMONG THE HEATHEN, SAITH THE LORD OF HOSTS.

THESE words form a portion of that splendid train of prophecy upon which the Jews built their hopes of future and universal triumph. The season came when it began to be fulfilled, and yet they were unable to discern it. It began to be fulfilled, and, indeed, was deemed by some to have met an adequate fulfilment when the Gospel of Christ made its early and rapid progress over the face of the civilized world.¹ For so the early Christians, when they witnessed “the forces of the Gentiles”

¹ St. Chrysostom conceived that the prophecy (Matt. xxiv. 14) was fulfilled before the destruction of Jerusalem: *ὅτι γὰρ πανταχοῦ ἐκηρύχθη τότε, ἄκουσον τί φησιν ὁ Παῦλος· τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου τοῦ κηρυχθέντος ἐν πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν. ὁ καὶ μέγιστον σημεῖον τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως· ὅτι ἐν εἴκοσι ἢ καὶ τριάκοντα*

coming into the fold of Christ, recognised the power and faithfulness of God in the accomplishment of this His prophetic promise, and gave praise thus, in their devotions, to His great name: "Giving thanks through Him to Thee, together with Him and the Holy Ghost, we present this reasonable and unbloody worship which is offered to Thee, O Lord, by all nations, from the rising to the setting of the sun, from the north unto the south. For thy name is great among all nations, and in every place incense, sacrifice, and oblations are offered to it."¹

But it is not on the fact, whether the inspired prediction respecting the universal spread of the kingdom of God had, or has, met with a corresponding fulfilment, that I would now dwell. The point which deserves our attention is, that of the

ἅλοις ἔτεσι τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης κατέλαβεν ὁ λόγος. Homil. LXXV. in Matt.

It was an argument, too, of the Donatists, when the promised diffusion of the Church was urged against their pretensions, to reply, that this *had been* accomplished, but that the Faith had perished in all the world except their own body. "Et ista, inquit, credimus, et completa esse confitemur; at postea orbis terrarum apostatavit, et sola remansit Donati communio." Augst. contr. Donat. Epist. cap. xiii. vol. ix. p. 361. Edit. Bened.

¹ Liturgia S. Marci ad init. The Latin translation is, "Per quem Tibi, cum Ipso, et Spiritu Sancto, gratias agentes, offerimus rationabilem et incruentam λατρείαν seu oblationem hanc, quam offerunt Tibi, Domine, omnes Gentes ab ortu Solis usque ad occisum, a septentrione ad meridiem. Quia magnum nomen Tuum in omnibus gentibus, et in omni loco incensum offertur nomini Tuo sancto et sacrificium et oblatio."—*La Bigne's Biblioth. Patr.* vol. vi. p. 24. Paris, 1589.

adequacy and *tendency* of the Gospel to gain an universal supremacy over the human mind, and its adaptation to mankind at large. In these respects it presents no less an evidence of its divine power than a contrast to every form of religion that has ever gathered votaries to itself among the nations of the world. It addresses itself not to this or that people, or condition of thought, or social state, or political organization, but to fallen human nature; and therefore it is designed of God to be universal; and the Church as the depositary of this remedial scheme, the channel of its spiritual blessings, is evermore to expand, until the "saving health" which it conveys is made "known to all nations," and the kingdom of God shall come.

This universality and expansiveness of the Faith and Church of Christ place the Gospel, as was just remarked, in striking contrast with all other religions of the earth. Consider, in a few words, and in illustration of what is said, that divine system which it pleased God to make known to the Jews in preparation for the advent of His Son. It bore written on its law the marks of being only a preparatory and therefore temporary and imperfect system. Its types and prophecies could supply no resting-place to the mind of the spiritual Israelite; they pointed, and were understood to point, to something further—"the bringing in of a better hope."¹ The

¹ Heb. vii. 19.

intertexture of religious with civil and political ordinances, while it was calculated to bind the nation together in one people, and preserve its distinctiveness, demonstrated at the same time that the former were applicable to that people and polity alone. And this was evidenced still more clearly in that portion of the law which required the yearly worship at Jerusalem,¹ and fixed the one material temple as the place wherein alone the sacrifice for the atonement of sins could be offered; so that, when this should be destroyed, and the land be left desolate, there would remain no longer any availing sacrifice for the pardon of transgression.

And all other religious systems have borne the same marks of local adaptation, and consequently of their inadequacy to become universal, having rather grown out of the condition and circumstances of individual nations, than possessing a power to fashion and mould the soul of man to themselves. They have been characterised, either by being based on traditional recollections, or by a mixture with political institutions, or by such an amount of imperfection and falsity, as to show at once that they were calculated only for men dwelling in particular climes, or in a certain state of civilization or condition of mind.

In none of these, however debased or revolting,

¹ See Eusebius, *Demonstratio Evang.* lib. i. cap. iii., where this, among other arguments on this point, is adduced.

has there been an absence of *all* Truth. Relics of the primæval Tradition, witnessed to, and kept alive by the unwritten Law in man's heart, have been scattered over the whole earth, and have taken root in certain soils; and round these fragments of Truth the various idolatries and superstitions have gathered as a shell, modified by, and in turn again modifying, the character of the people among whom each system has prevailed. Observe, for instance, the peculiar nationality that pervaded and distinguished the polytheistic systems of Greece and Rome. The intellectual taste of the Greek soon gave birth to the elegant mythology, and the visible forms of beauty in which his deities were impersonated; he deified the graces and qualities of mind, and consecrated his amusements, his games, the drama, and the arts, by dedicating them to religion. Amongst the Romans, on the contrary, the whole fabric of their social being, and eminently of their religion, partook of the masculine character which was stamped on their political system. They deified, not the powers of mind, but the social and civil virtues;¹ they consecrated not their amusements, but their triumphs, and all the "circumstance" of war.²

¹ Temples were dedicated to Honour, Virtue, Concord, Piety, Peace, &c. &c. The Comitia and Capitol were reckoned temples.—Liv. iii. 17, 18; vi. 4.

² In the middle of the camp were placed the altar and the standards, which are called by Tacitus "*propria legionum numina*" (Ann. ii. 17), and "*bellorum Dii*" (Hist. iii. 10); which were objects of adoration (Suet. Calig. v.), and by which the soldiers swore.—Liv. xxvi. 48.

Foreign religions were forbidden,¹ as interfering with the laws and constitution of the republic. The introduction of them was punished, not as impiety, but as treason. Hence there could exist neither the inclination nor the possibility of propagating such systems as these. It was not toleration that checked the endeavour to extend them among subject provinces, but the consciousness of the conquerors that they had nothing to offer; nothing but what the citizens of an African or Asiatic state had already equally good, and more suited to them, of their own.² And it would have been simply impolitic to disturb their prejudices on a point on which they could not better them. Compare, again, with each of these systems, the mystical abstractions into which religious thought was subtilized in the mythologies of the East; and as we see how they found a natural home in the dreamy inactivity of the oriental character, we must perceive also how impossible it would have been to engraft them on the intellectual and stirring activity of the

¹ Cic. de Leg. II. c. viii. "—— neque nisi Romani Dii, neu quo alio more quam patrio colerentur." Liv. iv. 30. See also the advice of Mæcenas to Augustus. Dio Cassius, lii. 36. Thus the refusal to sacrifice to the Gods was considered an act of high treason (*crimen majestatis*). Tertullian, Apol. xxix.

² Celsus considered it an impossibility, and a weakness to suppose it, that the inhabitants of all nations could be united in one religion. Εἰ γὰρ δὴ (he is quoted as saying) οἶοντε εἰς ἓνα συμφρονῆσαι νόμον τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Εὐρώπην καὶ Λιβύην κατοικοῦντας Ἕλληνας τε καὶ βαρβάρους ἄχρι περάτων νενομημένους.—ἀδύνατον τοῦτο νομίσας εἶναι ἐπιφέρει ὅτι, ὁ τοῦτο οἰόμενος οἶδεν οὐδέν.—Origen contr. Celsum. 72, Edit. Bened. Paris, p. 795.

Greek, or the strong practical vigour of the Roman mind.

And this is even more conspicuously discernible in the ruder forms of religious worship. Just in proportion as a nation has receded further from the light of traditional truth and civilization, it has ever been broken up into separate tribes. The state of barbarism is one of social disunion. So also the tendency of error is to multiply its forms, to dissocialize and split up the worship of the human heart into endless superstitions, which vary and take their specific character either from some local peculiarity, or from the mental condition of its votaries. The senseless worship of the Fetiche bears the impress of that moral degradation which has settled, as a curse, upon the tribes of Africa. The frequent ablutions of the Hindoo, the adoration he pays to the sacred waters of the Jumna or Ganges, limit his superstition to the sultry clime of Hindostan. The very forms of his idols correspond with the monstrous growth which belongs to that prolific region. The divinities of Egypt could find none to do them honour beyond the slimy banks of the Nile, which was their birth-place. The dark legendary tale, the savage feast and song, by which the pirates of Scandinavia “maddened themselves to rage” for carnage, beseeemed the inhabitants of those northern wilds; while the more refined worship of Eastern Asia, the gilded decorations and graceful offerings of flowers and incense which the Chinese

votary presents at the shrine of Confucius or Buddha, if they indicate the higher civilization, betoken, likewise, the feebleness and timidity of the oriental character.

View however, in contrast with these varying and ever-multiplying shapes of error, the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It asserts its divine origin by the very universality of the message it contains, and by its tendency to unity. It is for man—for man in that one character in which there is no difference between tribe and tribe, viz. in his fallen estate, as sinful, and as needing reconciliation with his Maker. If the evil was comprehensive, the remedy which it has provided is equally comprehensive; and in the character of the truths that it reveals, it addresses itself to every part and function of the soul of man. The wants that drive the savage to his incantations and sorceries, or bow him before his shapeless idol,—the doubts that perplexed and multiplied the schools of philosophy,—the simple truths, moral and theological, that kept alive the knowledge of the One God among the Jews,—are all recognised, harmonized, and developed. Each power and affection of man finds therein an object on which to engage itself,—the means of its exercise and sanctification. The Gospel meets him in his most abject state, and, presenting its one object of faith, leads him forth from the prison-house of slavish fear and wasting passion, providing for and keeping pace with his civilization, and cherishing within

him his true life, from its earliest germ to its last and fullest maturity. It supplies him with a new tie of brotherhood; maintaining and consolidating national existence, while it unites in one fraternity, and on equal terms, all ranks and all tribes of the earth. Thus, in the person of the Divine Redeemer, "the second Adam," the dispersed races of the world are gathered together, and in Him the type is set forth of man in the unity and sanctity of his redeemed and regenerate nature.

And therefore to one thus recognising the revelation of God to man for his recovery, it can be no strange thing to find that it was designed for universal acceptance. Such was its Divine Author's injunction; and this it was which roused the jealousy of its first persecutors. The Church, the new spiritual kingdom which he established, was to "be fruitful and multiply." It was to spread into all lands, and gather within its limits all nations, and tribes, and languages. This was the purpose announced before by successive prophecies, and finally enforced in the command which the Son of God, as he quitted this earth, charged upon His disciples, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature."¹

This command, for the accomplishment of which "the whole creation groaneth," and the ulterior purposes of God are waiting in expectation, remains

¹ Mark xvi. 15.

still unrepealed, still unfulfilled.¹ Why does it remain so? what is the purpose of God respecting it? what means has He provided for its completion? what part is man to bear in evangelizing the world? what efforts *have been made* and *are making*, and with what success? what are the causes of failure? what are our duties, our encouragements, and prospects, in the discharge of this pressing obligation, as a branch of Christ's holy Church, and as a nation? These are questions opening a wide field of deep and practical interest, and bringing under review the *past and prospective extension of the Gospel*, and the missionary functions of the Church, as the commissioned converter of the Heathen.

This is the topic which, as God shall give me the power, I shall venture to bring before you in the following Lectures. No one can surely witness the surprising spirit, and almost restless interest that has evinced itself on this subject, pervading and stirring the whole mass of the community, without

¹ In order to escape the argument drawn from this command in favour of a perpetual apostolic ministry,—viz. that, since it clearly could not be accomplished by the Apostles themselves, unless “immortality on earth was a part of the gift bestowed on them,” therefore the succession of an apostolic ministry was implied in the command,—in order to escape this strong presumption, it was contended that the command was actually fulfilled by the Apostles; that they actually did preach the Gospel to every creature—even in America. The absurd argument is stated and refuted in Witsius's Treatises, 13 and 14, *De Evang. in Amer. predicando*.—See note in Rose's *Commission and Duty of the Clergy*, p. 45. Fabric. *Lux Evang.* cap. xlvii.

feeling how near a place it has in the sympathies of every Christian heart, and without the solemn thought that our Heavenly Master is preparing the way for events which shall mark a fresh æra in His Church. That He has, in His eternal counsels, a design to be accomplished, none can doubt; the book of the prophecy has yet to be fulfilled, before it is sealed up. Three hundred years have scarcely elapsed, since it may be said that in the East and West a new world was discovered and brought into contact with Christian Europe. The nations by which the supremacy of the sea and the means of foreign intercourse were then possessed, have sunk into feebleness. They visited these lands of fabled magnificence, and enriched themselves with the plunder; and they have passed away. But God has now made England the Empress of the Sea; territories more numerous than the fleets of Spain and Portugal ever visited have fallen under her supremacy; her navies sweep the seas, and her commerce circulates through every land;—with an empire extending over a seventh part of the world's inhabitants, and more than a seventh part of the earth's surface,¹ though the least among the nations,

¹ The following Table is published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel:—

Population of the whole world	860,000,000
British subjects, one-seventh part	123,000,000
*	
	Square Miles.
Land area of the globe.....	50,000,000
Total British territory	8,100,000

she has surpassed them all in the wide spread of her influence, and the amount of her responsibility ; and in all this we cannot but feel that the finger of God, and the day of her visitation, is upon her ; and, if power and opportunity, and concurrent providences, are indications of God's will, that this nation and Church are specially set to urge on their course the prophetic events which seem to be gathering towards their fulfilment, to hasten and usher in the day of the Lord, and "make straight in the desert a highway for our God."

And we are led at once to ask, what part in so great a transaction the Church has hitherto shown a readiness to discharge. This empire has not been the growth of a day :—for two hundred years, savages and pagans have been brought within the ranges of its enterprise and influence. And we must with shame at once confess, that the whole of that period exhibits nearly a blank page of indolence or indifference. For above a hundred years, the utmost that was done was to maintain something like an establishment of Christianity by a few priests, in our American colonies ; again, chaplains were thinly scattered, with our garrisons and factories, along the coasts of the vast Indian continent, and lined the border of the dark masses of heathenism, without an effort, without the means, to invade and enlighten them.¹ A few heathen, a small

¹ Appendix, No. I. On the condition of the Church in the Colonies in past years.

remnant, or rather a first-fruits, brought immediately under the control of European masters, were gathered in ; and these should indeed have been thankfully hailed as the first large drops that portend a coming shower to fertilize the whole ground ; but nothing beyond this seems to have been aimed at. It was left to other and smaller states to make a first essay on paganism. Denmark, among reformed nations, established the first mission in Hindostan ; and it must be again acknowledged with shame, that whatever more cheering conquests have been gained in subsequent times in India, have been effected by German missionaries,¹ aided with British money. In vain through that long period, though province was added yearly to province, and treasures, deemed inexhaustible, poured into our land, and kindled our cupidity, and worldly men flocked anew to the prey,—though many conquering names were emblazoned on the rolls of warlike achievement, in vain do we look for one name in the annals of our Church shining with the lustrous title of “apostle to the heathen.” And yet during that time the mis-

¹ By far the ablest Protestant missionaries in connexion with the Church of England have, throughout, been not Germans only, but Lutherans. Such were the venerable Schwartz and Schultze, in the last century. Mr. Rhenius, again, who was very instrumental in the religious movement at Tinnevely, was a Lutheran ; and so is Mr. Deerr, to whose zeal the late results at Krishnaghur are in large measure to be attributed. In 1842 the number of Lutheran ministers on the list of the Church Missionary Society amounted to twelve ; and to judge from the names of those in its employ, above forty are either Germans, or of German extraction.

sionaries of the Church of Rome were following in the track of war and commerce, and spreading themselves in all lands wherever Spanish arms opened the way, or ships of trade would bear them; and if their almost miraculous records of the conversion of the heathen do not present the genuine conquests of a pure Christianity, they at least suggest what pure Christianity might have achieved,—they at least exhibit glorious instances of what men of devoted spirits and apostolic zeal did attempt and suffer. And, in later days, sects that have seceded from the Church, have combined in associations for the same end, and have multiplied means and societies, till throughout the vast continents of the East and West, and the multitudinous islands of the South, their emissaries are scattering the word of God, and instructing savages in the truths of the Gospel. It must indeed be thankfully acknowledged that, at the same time with this later movement, a Missionary Society,¹ conducted by members of the Church, was organized for the conversion of the heathen; and the success with which God has blessed this effort will be mentioned in its place; still it was not the Church that thus acted; nor was any commission entrusted to the Society to act in its name. The Church itself, *as a body*, as the ordained minister of

¹ Originally called the *Society for Missions to Africa and the East*; but in 1812 its designation was changed to *The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East*.

the heathen, has not acted. Though it acknowledged and exercised the duties of edifying the flock at home, and educating the young of its communion, yet it has not, in its corporate capacity, claimed the heathen for its inheritance, and been, as it were, in travail till they were born again; it has not been careful to press this duty upon the state, nor to urge it from its pulpits, nor infuse the missionary spirit into its members, till the feeling had penetrated its very being, and circulated as blood through its whole system, and become a function of its daily life and action. Causes, indeed, may be assigned, and will be hereafter assigned, to account, in some way, for this seeming indifference, the absence of this sign of an apostle in a branch of Christ's Church; but the fact must be acknowledged, most humbly and mournfully. And therefore we may the more joy at the sympathy which "now at the last hath flourished again" in behalf of a world lying in wickedness; at the keen sense that is now felt of the duty and the responsibility which is fastened upon the Church by its Great Head and Saviour, to go forth and visit the dark places of the earth, to expand and enlarge its borders, and gather within the curtains of its tabernacle tribes of every tongue and every hue, to adorn the supper-chamber of the Lamb.

Such a duty being recognised, it would be an useless task to repeat, even for the purpose of

refuting, the many objections which have from time to time been entertained against any such proceedings. Some of them were urged, no doubt, from a worldly jealousy; some from a cold indifference to the divine command; some, too, from a consciousness that it was not such an *individual* work as it was commonly represented to be by its advocates. Many, it may be supposed, shrunk from so vast a duty, who would yet have owned and welcomed it, had it been undertaken, and explained, and urged as an obligation and responsibility adhering to the Church at large. But yet a question may arise, which has engaged the thoughts of many, as to the amount of success which seems promised by the Word of God to crown the performance of this duty. For, unreasonable as it is, yet the zeal and interest, with which the work has been engaged in by many have been made to depend, not on the plain duty, but on some specific prospect of a triumphant result which they think they see assured by the word of prophecy, and for the hastening and consummation of which they labour.

Now it is not for the purpose of dispelling any brighter hope, which at least carries with it the benefit of supplying an immediate incentive to action, that I would inquire into the justice of that expectation which calculates on the universal spread of the kingdom of Christ over the whole earth, as the result of any present effort in the propagation

of the Faith :¹ but it is for the purpose of freeing the subject of missionary exertions from the charge of dreamy enthusiasm, as being connected with anticipations which are controverted by many, and distrusted by more. Besides which, the zeal that rests on an insecure foundation, is necessarily itself insecure. And is it not a part of our trial, an exercise and strengthening of our faith, to act upon a sense of present duty irrespectively of a definite and foreseen result? This is the discipline of God's moral government in our daily course of conduct; thus He tries us;—not bribing our obedience by immediate gratification, but setting only His general laws and promises before us, throwing in, perhaps, a thousand disappointments between any act and its final though certain recompense,—and thus teaching us to repose, for our strength and confidence, on the principle of ascertained duty. For the purpose, then, of educing rather a guide, than a motive, of action, I would proceed to consider what prospects are opened in the Word of God in regard to the future fortunes and extension of the Church of Christ.

It is clear, on the first glance at the prophecies of the Old Testament, that scenes of glory and boundless triumph are described as ordained in the latter days for the kingdom of the promised Messiah. A few of these glowing predictions will

¹ See Appendix, No. II. On the opinion of the earlier Fathers respecting the predicted spread of the Gospel.

recall others to our mind; as when it is declared that "the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it." "The abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto thee." "I will save my people from the east country, and from the west country; and I will bring them, and they shall dwell in the midst of Jerusalem." "Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders; but thou shalt call thy walls Salvation, and thy gates Praise." "For the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."¹

The thought at once arises, upon reading such passages as these,—*how*, or *when* may we hope that they will be realized? Have they already been accomplished, or are they in course of accomplishment? May we look forward to the time when, under the present dispensation of things, and as a result of existing causes, the whole earth will be christianized, and the kingdoms of the world become in truth the kingdoms of Christ?

Now, before an answer is given to such inquiries, much more before it is given (as is commonly done) in the affirmative, it is needful to set before the mind clearly what it is that is anticipated; whether

¹ Isa. ii. 2; lx. 5. Zech. viii. 7, 8. Isa. lx. 18. Hab. ii. 14.

it is indeed a literal fulfilment of these and like predictions; whether not only every nation, but every individual within each nation, shall receive the Gospel, and this, not in word, but in truth; so that the opposition of Satan shall be broken, and a universal reign of joy and peace be spread over all lands and in all hearts.

That *hereafter*, in the *restitution of all things*, and in the Church triumphant, such will be the case, cannot be doubted. But as regards the condition of the visible Church on earth, we must bear in mind, that no such scene of glory is contemplated in the New Testament, either by our Blessed Lord or His Apostles. Nay, is it not the contrary? Though ushered in as bringing “peace on earth,” was not the Gospel declared to be sent as “a sword?” Though the Lord of Life came to triumph over, and subdue all things under His feet, yet He lived on earth only as a man of sorrows. And so it is with the Church. Whatever be its final destiny, no glowing scene of peace and purity, before the end of all things, is promised; but frequent forebodings of departure from the faith, corruptions, and wrestlings with the world and Satan, and persecutions; these deepening as the solemn drama of God’s counsels draws to a close; so that it is asked, when the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?”¹

¹ Luke xviii. 8. Compare with this 2 Tim. iii. 1—4, and 2 Peter iii. 3; likewise the references in p. 23, note 1.

Besides this, there is an entire absence in the New Testament of any ground for supposing, that there will be any supernatural interruption of those laws by which the Church of Christ, and the moral nature of man, are now governed. On the contrary, frequent parables¹ of our Lord lead us to conclude that there will be going on to the end of the world the same conflict of the kingdom of Christ with the powers of evil; the same alternations of advancing and receding light; the same victory and defeat, throughout the period of the mortal struggle that is carrying on, whether on the broad surface of the world by the Church militant, or by the individual Christian on the narrow stage of his own heart. In this sense, “since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning.” The fortunes of the Church may vary, and the work it has to do will certainly advance; yet it will be without any change in those conditions of spiritual Being according to which the kingdom of Christ is ordered, and the Gospel has to win its tardy way against the reluctant will of man, and the manifold obstructions of evil.

And surely by nothing less than such an especial interference of God, amounting to a suspension of His own laws, can we suppose that the universal conversion of the world could be effected,—that every natural heart could be disarmed of its oppo-

¹ Mark iv. 26. Matt. xiii. 24.

sition to Christ, the swellings of passion be at once overborne and quelled, the world be stripped of its fascinations, the power of Satan be broken, and scenes of unendangered peace and joy possess the compass of the earth.

Nor yet, on the other hand, will anything short of this be a worthy and real fulfilment of such prophecies. It would seem derogatory to God's word to suppose that such a doubtful sway of the Gospel as exists at present in Christian countries, though extended over the whole world, could be an adequate realization of that vision which the Holy Ghost revealed to the eyes of His inspired servants. And therefore we are constrained to look to some future period for the completion of this Divine counsel. Then it will be *altogether* fulfilled; *now* it will be but partially. For we need not exclude even a present and partial fulfilment from bearing a part in the predicted scheme. The purpose of God runs through a long period of accomplishment, by a series of events falling at last into its one great consummation. The word of prophecy communicates His design viewed as a whole and as one, from first to last, gathered into one object of sight, the end anticipated in the beginning. And this beginning is dependent on human agency; it may be marred, thwarted, delayed, by man's wilfulness, or folly, or neglect; and so the prophecy will seem but ill to correspond with this its imperfect realization; but "at the end it shall speak, and not lie;

though it tarry, wait for it, because it will surely come, it will not tarry."

Thus it was that, on the preaching to the Gentiles by St. Peter, and when "a people" began to be gathered unto the Lord from among them, St. James recognised in these first-fruits of the Gospel an agreement with the words of inspiration, which foretold that "all the Gentiles should seek after the Lord."¹ Thus, too, St. Chrysostom considered that the prediction of the Gospel being preached to all nations, was fulfilled by the Apostles before the overthrow of Jerusalem.² And so we may perceive an accomplishment of the sublime prophecies of the Old Testament, even in the present triumphs of Christ's spiritual kingdom, as being an earnest of the heavenly glory in which it will finally issue.

But in endeavouring to ascertain the predicted fortunes and extension of the Church, we must rather turn our eyes from these elder prophecies to those which are found in the New Testament, and according to which the earlier Fathers were led to form their expectations of the future. And here we are met by two main ideas. The first is, the prediction of the great falling off and apostasy which is to mark the last times, and which will have reached its crisis and been fully developed in the Man of Sin,³ when "the Lord shall consume

¹ Acts xv. 17.

² See page 1, note 1.

³ Horsley, Sermon III. With this order of events corresponds the prophecy of Gog and Magog (in Ezekiel) being destroyed

him with the spirit of His mouth, and destroy him with the brightness of His coming." The second is, the announcement that "this Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world *for a witness* to all nations; and then shall the end come."¹ That neither of these announcements has met with an adequate fulfilment, whatever foreshadowings have from time to time prefigured them, or however they may have seemed, at intervals, to be very nigh at hand, can hardly be doubted; and so closely are they both connected with the second coming of our Lord, that each of them has at all times attracted the expectant gaze of those who have been looking out for that solemn event.

It is to be observed, too, that the position of this latter prediction of our Lord, in the awful sayings with which it is accompanied, leads us to conclude, that a more earnest and vigorous effort to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation among all nations will be the immediate harbinger² of that dark season of apostasy and sharp persecution which will shut in the declining day of the Church on earth,—to be relieved only by the brightness of her Lord's approach. And, during this season, a sifting of the nations, a dissolution of every system

just before the vision of the Temple (chaps. xxxviii. xxxix.), which seems a counterpart of the similar prophecy of Gog and Magog, just before the final resurrection, in Rev. xx.

¹ Matt. xxiv. 14.

² Thus Origen, in Matt. Comm. sect. 39, tom. iii. p. 858. Ed. Ben. (quoted in Appendix II.)

into its elements of truth or ungodliness,¹ and a ranging of them on the side of Antichrist or Christ will be witnessed,—so that once again, as at first in the wilderness, the great enemy of man and the Son of God will be, as it were, confronted for a last conflict. St. Augustine records it² as being a conviction ever present in the discourses and hearts of the faithful, that through the preaching of Elias, or of those coming in his spirit and power, during the brief but sifting tribulation of those days, the tribes of Israel will be summoned from their dispersion and blindness, and own their rejected Saviour. And St. Paul³ strikingly connects this glorious event with a larger gathering in of the Gentiles. May it not be that, in the shaking

¹ August. de Civit. Dei, cap. viii. “Sicut enim fatendum est, multorum refrigescere charitatem cum abundat iniquitas, et inusitatis maximisque persecutionibus atque fallaciis diaboli jam soluti, eos qui in libro Vitæ scripti non sunt, esse multos cessuros; ita cogitandum est, non solum quos bonos fideles illud tempus inveniet, sed nonnullos etiam qui foris adhuc erunt, adjuvante Dei gratiâ, per considerationem Scripturarum, in quibus et alia et finis ipse prænunciatus est quem venire jam sentiunt, ad credendum quod non credebant futuros esse firmiores.”

² De Civit. Dei, cap. xxix. “Per hunc Eliam, magnum mirabilemque prophetam, exposita sibi lege, ultimo tempore, ante iudicium, Judæos in Christum verum, id est, in Christum nostrum esse credituros, *celeberrimum est in sermonibus eordibusque fidelium.*” —Cf. Justin M. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 268, Edit. Paris, 1615; also Gregor. M. Moral. lib. ix. cap. 3.

A similar opinion is expressed by Jerome, on Malachi iv., who however conceives, under *Elias*, “omnem Prophetarum chorum” to be understood, who shall convert the Jews, “antequam veniet dies iudicii.”

³ Rom. xi. 1, 2.

of the nations, and the trying and dissolving of all false systems as by fire, the sight of the ancient people of God turning to their Messiah throughout all lands, will be a signal to many among the heathen tribes to fulfil in spirit the prediction of Zechariah,¹ so that “ they shall lay hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you, for we have heard that the Lord is with you ? ”

Thus, then, the gathering in of the Gentiles, and of the elect of God, will be accomplished ; and so much at least the clear word of God seems to have revealed for our edification. And let it not be thought that, in excluding from his anticipations a prospect of millenary glory, to be vouchsafed in recompense to present exertion, we rob the Christian of a main inducement to endure toil, and sacrifice, and it may be disappointment, in preaching abroad the Gospel of Christ. It formed no part of the motives which urged the men of God, who issued from our shores in the seventh and eighth centuries, to go and convert, and die in converting, the Pagan hordes that possessed the forests of Germany. Nor if we review those inducements that remain, and some of which press with peculiar force on our own age and nation, shall we find aught wanting to make us bend ourselves with more deliberate zeal to the discharge of this binding duty.

¹ Zech. viii. 23.

Let me draw, then, a first motive to the performance of it, from the very consideration that has been entered into of the prospective destinies of the Church. The preaching of the Gospel in all lands is to precede, nay, is to usher in and attend the last contest between righteousness and unrighteousness, between the Prince of this world and the Lord of Life,—and thus prepare the way for the coming of Christ in judgment. Now, surely such revelations of God are made for the strengthening of Christian faith, and in order to give direction and energy to Christian efforts. And however difficult it may be to solve the problem of man's free agency working concurrently with the eternal counsels of God,—or to determine how far the latter may be made to depend on the mode or degree in which the former is exerted; yet that they do depend upon, and are modified in some way by it, the history of God with his chosen people sufficiently testifies; nay, it is implied in the very injunction to pray for the approach and the speedy realization of events, “the times and seasons” of which are in the hands of the Father. We are bidden to pray that His “kingdom” may “come;” we beseech Him that He will “hasten it,” and “*shortly* accomplish the number of” His “elect.” Therefore, looking forward to the consummation of all things, to the trial which the Church is to endure, and the final triumph which will be achieved in its behalf, the present conduct of Christians is charged

with the most solemn, though perhaps remote, issues. The final result, indeed, is not, cannot be, doubtful; but a conflict is to precede it, uncertain in its duration, its intensity, and the character of its termination. May it not be that the glory of Christ is delayed indefinitely, and a longer period accorded to the rule of Satan, because the Gospel is not yet fully preached? May it not be that the souls "under the altar" prolong their weary plaint; that the present groans of all creation deepen around us; and that the morning star still lingers beneath the horizon, because some nation, which we delay to call, has yet to be born anew, some heathen souls have yet to be added to the fold of Christ? May it not be (considering the influence of man on man) that in the war of the powers of heaven and earth, the numbers of those who shall be marshalled on the one side or the other, of those who shall bear the mark of the beast, or the seal of Christ, will be determined by the previous faithfulness or unfaithfulness of His Church in the extension of His kingdom? Nay, if it be not too bold a word, may it not be that, while generation after generation is passing away, bowing before senseless idols, and plunging more hopelessly into the snares of the destroyer, the very number of those who shall sit down with their Lord in heaven fails of its completion? Whatever we may judge of these specific results, still it is only in consistency with the analogy of God's moral dealings,

that such issues, most solemn, it may be most distant, should be intimately bound up with present determinations and actions. The consequences of a single deed, the neglect of one opportunity, may be felt in its vibrations even at the utmost verge of time, and the fate of future generations hang upon the decision of the present. And therefore we cannot contemplate the predicted fortunes of the Church, without seeing how strong an obligation rests upon each age to give effect to the implied charge of Christ, when He said that “this Gospel of the kingdom shall” first “be preached in all the world for a witness to all nations; *and then shall the end come.*”

And other motives may constrain us to the same duty. The command of Christ Himself, explicit, unlimited either in time or extent, might be urged as alone sufficient to bind it upon the Church in all ages, as constituting the highest of all obligations. But without dwelling upon what has already been alluded to, we may observe that the *expansiveness* of the Church is truly noted as among the tokens of its life. The light that cannot spread itself abroad is no true light. And the Church was constituted for this end, to give shine unto the world. Thus it lives in activity, it is gifted with power,—the power as of fire, or the wind, which exist only in motion; and its life is made manifest, according as it extends abroad the holy influences with which it is endowed. The immediate result of that power

with which Christ was invested on His rising from the grave, was the transference to His Apostles of the authority to evangelize the world: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth: Go ye, *therefore*, and teach all nations, baptizing them." It was to be exerted to the end of time; and upon the exertion of it the blessing of His continued presence was made to depend; for He added immediately, "And lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." How shall the Church, or any portion of the Church, show that it has succeeded to this commission, and to the power that is engaged for its execution, but by its wide-spread toils and conquests? And is it not true that it is this very want of expansiveness that has been unceasingly objected to us? And how, till almost yesterday, have we been able to reply to the imputation? Where have we been able to point to the Church, breaking forth as by an inward energy, I will not say wherever a rude hut, or dark form, on the shore of some far-off isle betokened the presence of a soul that might be saved, but even where the arms of the nation had opened a free and secure entrance in among whole tribes and millions of the heathen? And now, if ever, we need to show that we have this token of life; that we have received the commission, and possess the energy to execute it, to go and convert; that our Church is not merely of one age, or one people, whose whole vitality has been

exhausted within these narrow limits; but that it is for every clime and age, can master human nature, can fashion, according to one heavenly model, all minds and dispositions, savage and civilized, without destroying the distinctive features of their individual character.

And to this work, too, the debt of *charity* binds us, and the voices of the multitudinous heathen. Two-thirds of the human race yet lie in darkness, and still present to the eye of faith a portion of that vast field which the omniscient eye of Christ surveyed, when he bade His disciples "pray the Lord of the harvest that he would send labourers into his harvest." Shall it be said that they have the law of nature, and that, ignorant of any higher, they will be judged by no higher, and so may be left with their God? But thus felt not their heavenly Redeemer, when He laid down His life for them, and commanded his disciples to go and call them to salvation, that He might "see of the travail of his soul." Besides which, can they stand by the law of nature? Can they with unaided strength walk even by that, and meet their Judge? Is it not the case that even their conscience becomes defiled, that they ever retrograde and deteriorate; that infanticide,¹ and treachery, and moral abominations, indicate the powerlessness of this law to con-

¹ This was fully borne out in the "Evidence on Aborigines," given before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1833 and 1835. In China, according to Barrow, the number of exposed

trol the corrupt passions of human nature, which is destitute of strength, because destitute of Christ? So that not even thus can we be relieved of the conviction, that, while we withhold our hand, we are neglecting our Lord's command, and that, in leaving the heathen to themselves, we leave them to perish.

It is a debt of charity with every Christian people. But with us it is a debt of *justice* too. For, more than any nation, we have been brought into contact with the tribes of the Pagan world; in our commerce and colonization we have visited every coast, with a charge indeed to bless, but—must we not confess it?—in reality to curse. What has been the history of our extended empire? The numberless tribes that once swarmed over the northern continent of America are almost wasted from under the sun before men of one blood with ourselves, and their names are scarce known. And never was there a more pathetic appeal than that of the Indian chief, who, in a review of his nation's wrongs, found the plea for rejecting the white man's religion.¹

And how is it with Eastern India? Long was it thought that the empire could be held only by a denial of our Lord; and the Hindoo learnt to

infants, in Pekin alone, after deducting more than one-half for natural deaths, amounts to four thousand a year. In some provinces not one in three is suffered to live. Abeel's China, p. 109.

¹ In 1805 a council was held by the chiefs and warriors of the Senecas, at the request of a Missionary, when the speech alluded to was made. It is given at length in Howitt's Colonization and Christianity, pp. 397–401.

deem that we had no religion,¹ and that no “considerable modes of faith existed among men, except the two which divide the population of Hindostan.” We planted settlements on the African coast, but it is written in our laws² that it was “only for the encouragement, protection, and defence of the slave-trade.” And the traffic consumed and blighted the natives with a moral pestilence. Among the chiefs and people, wherever it prevailed, “the commonest charities of life,” almost “the last glimmerings of civilization disappeared, and the unrestrained passions of men obtained a fell ascendancy.”³ We are peopling another continent with our criminals, and have made the place dreadful to Christian thought; and twenty years have been sufficient for the “extermination of nearly a whole race of aborigines.”⁴ And these things convert the debt of charity into a debt of justice. The nations of the earth demand some recompense of us; and England owes a debt of penitence and restitution. And how shall it be paid, but by the Church lifting up her voice, and stirring the nation to its duty, by letting it have no rest until she be enabled to bear the healing balm of the Gospel to the afflicted tribes;

¹ Bishop Middleton’s Charge to the Clergy at Calcutta. (Sermons, p. 233.)

² In an Act of Parliament passed 23 Geo. II. (c. 31), quoted in Mr. Trew’s Letter to the Bishop of London, p. 8. (The reference as given in the former edition, and copied from Mr. Trew, has been found to be erroneous. It is here corrected.)

³ Trew’s Letter, p. 18.

⁴ Catholic Missions in Australia, by Dr. Ullathorne, p. 47. See also Evidence on Aborigines, pp. 253, 254.

till she stand between the dead and the living, and the plague be stayed.

And if God in His mercy stir up in us this spirit of penitence, and love, and zeal,—that spirit which once made this country the isle of saints,—how great may we believe will be the reflected blessing with which He will recompense the work! The spirit that undertakes the duty, and makes the sacrifice, will not be borne abroad and then given to the winds, but will be wafted back again, and distil as dew to refresh and revive the Church. Is it not ever thus, that compliance with known duty is blessed with an increase of spiritual power? And thus the sight of the Church flourishing in some distant land among tribes converted, civilized, disciplined, united, will bear witness to the grace, still dwelling within it. Its power will be seen. This token of its life will silence many a taunt, awaken, perhaps, many a tenderer regard; “turn the hearts of the fathers unto the children,” and convince gainsayers “that God is with” us “of a truth.” The faith of many shall wax strong; and piety will burn brighter in the individual breast that has learned to sympathize in the salvation of the heathen. And the examples of “men who have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ,” will call forth a kindred spirit of sacrifice at home. They will chide the slumberer and self-indulgent. They will plead the cause of Christ with us. As we follow them, as it were, into the

very dominion of Satan, and stand in the face of the great enemy of Christ, surely our animosities will be laid aside,—our spirits, now estranged by jealousies, will be drawn together,—our work at home will be consolidated and sanctified,—and our Church may shine forth, as it did in darker and less prosperous days, a light to the heathen, a mother of churches, and a glory of all Christendom.

LECTURE II.

THE GENERAL CONDITIONS AND ACTUAL HINDRANCES IN EXTENDING THE GOSPEL.

MARK IV. 26—28.

SO IS THE KINGDOM OF GOD, AS IF A MAN SHOULD CAST SEED INTO THE GROUND, AND SHOULD SLEEP, AND RISE NIGHT AND DAY, AND THE SEED SHOULD SPRING AND GROW UP, HE KNOWETH NOT HOW : FOR THE EARTH BRINGETH FORTH FRUIT OF HERSELF ; FIRST THE BLADE, THEN THE EAR, AFTER THAT THE FULL CORN IN THE EAR.

WHEN, in the former Lecture, the universality of the Gospel was spoken of, the expression was used in reference to the adaptation which it bore to human nature at large, under all its varying peculiarities, individual, local, or social, over the earth. But using the word theologically, as denoting the actual extension of it by the Church, it must be received in a limited signification. For neither the promise of its Divine Author, nor any probability, would lead us to expect that it would be in all places at all times, nor in all places at any one time ; but in some place at all times, and in all places at some time ;—in a word, that it shall never fail from the earth, and shall at some period or

other be preached over the whole world, before the end come.¹

Such being, as it were, the limits which bound the extension and universality of the Church, I propose to consider the conditions which attend its progress within these limits, as they may be deduced from Holy Writ, or from previous probability, and as they are illustrated by past experience; and then to compare, in this respect, the early and present circumstances of the Church.

For such considerations as these will have a two-fold effect; they may tend to solve the difficulty which some have certainly felt at the very partial success which has yet been granted to the triumphs of Divine Truth; and they may, at the same time, offer a sufficient reply to the objections that have been advanced against missionary projects, as though they were an impracticable day-dream, which the present state of the world would prevent from ever being realized; and which, in as far as they have hitherto met with any measure of success, have owed that success only to miraculous interposition, or to a very peculiar conjuncture of favourable circumstances.

Now a fair view of what was all along to be expected, will go far to dissipate such misconceptions. It will show that the obstructions which have stayed the spread of the Gospel, are in accord-

¹ See Field on the Church, book ii. ch. 8.

ance with all previous probability ; and that notwithstanding, throughout, the Divine counsels have been, and are being, fulfilled. It will be perceived that a balance of advantage and disadvantage belongs to each age ; while, from a contemplation of the peculiar circumstances that distinguish any one period from others, the means requisite for meeting them will be more readily supplied, and the angel who is gone forth bearing the everlasting Gospel will be sped in his course.

The text, then, in one image, describes generally the growth of the kingdom of Christ in the world. Divine in its origin,—planted by the Divine hand, and miraculously aided in its first increase,—it was thenceforth left to be propagated by human means ; subject, therefore, to the vicissitudes, and the various fortunes, and the reverses, which dependence on such instrumentality was sure to entail on it, in its conflict with the powers of evil.

And what is generally implied in the text is borne out by the analogy of all other parts of Scripture. It supposes, throughout, a gradual and painfully-earned extension of the Gospel of Christ. It supposes the gift of blessings, and then the loss of them upon unfaithfulness. It supposes, in fact, not merely an execution of the will of God, but a trial of man. The statement is old, and need be only incidental. But reflect on the one uniform idea in St. Paul's epistles, of suffering being the portion of the Christian, and of the body of Christ, which was

to exhibit in itself the counterpart of its Lord's history, as though seeming reverse were the previous condition of success, and defeat of victory;—then the inroads of Satan on the dominion of the Lord, and the apostasy of man;—then the actual withdrawal of light once vouchsafed, from the corrupt Asiatic churches:—and from these facts we are led to the conviction, that we are to look for no mere shining down of Divine light from heaven, before which all darkness is to disappear, no peaceable increase of it to the perfect day, in the spread of the Gospel; but that there is to be a struggle, a constant and painfully-sustained struggle; that, inch by inch, the arena of the world is to be contested; man is to suffer in it, and Christ be glorified through it; and so the kingdoms of the world are to be wrenched from the grasp of Satan. Such is the stern picture set before man of the work he has to be engaged in. There *is* a bright side, on which faith may gaze at times; but, in its aspect towards the world, the Church is militant, going forth on a crusade against evil, striving for victory, earning it gradually, partially, and by suffering, and frequently, *to human eye*, by accident. And is not this in exact analogy with God's providential dealings with His elect Church of old? The history of the Jews, from the patriarchal days, was preparatory to the appearance of the Messiah, as the history of the Church is preparatory to His second advent. Consider, then, the long period that was

permitted to elapse before the fulness of the time was come ; how slowly the human mind was matured for receiving the Divine revelation, and after a retrogression of the whole race of man into an almost hopeless degradation ; how imperfectly, as it would seem, the knowledge of the true God was diffused by the captivity, or by the commercial enterprizes of the Jews, or by the dispersion of the sacred writings ; how various were the fortunes of that people, falling into sin, punished, almost extinguished ; and how the counsels of God appear to have been hindered thereby. If we reflect on this, we shall cease to wonder that a similar delay, and tardy fulfilment of the Divine purposes, should attend the execution of that greater and more glorious scheme, which, if it has a larger portion of the Divine power going with it, as it certainly has, yet has a more stupendous work to accomplish, and is subject, like its precursor, to the variations, and all the countervailing influences which the sinfulness and obstinacy of man, and the power of evil, can throw in its way.

Such, then, are the expectations which an inspection of the word of God would suggest respecting the conditions which will attend the extension of the kingdom of Christ on earth.

Nor is the argument from previous probability different. It is easy to suppose, that, on the communication to man of a scheme of salvation, it would

be made known at once, and fully, so as for all men to see it, and share in it; and this may correspond with the notion of that unmeaning and indiscriminating beneficence, which is sometimes attributed to the Almighty God at the expense of His justice and holiness. But viewing that scheme as it is, as provided for moral and rational beings, who may therefore reject or corrupt it, and so hinder it in its success; as calculated, indeed, to exalt man to the highest state of moral elevation of which human nature is capable, but having, for that purpose, to dispel ignorance, overcome prejudice, humanize barbarism, and subdue a reluctant will; we shall not be surprised at its not winning its way with the speed of light through the unresisting atmosphere, but shall be prepared for many reverses, for a slow and hesitating progress, and but partial results. It is well known that, among the secondary causes by which the historian of Rome's Decline and Fall¹ would account for the surprising diffusion of the Gospel in the three first centuries, is numbered "the doctrine of a future life;" which, as filling up a void in the human heart, it is supposed, would naturally recommend the system that revealed it. Were this, indeed, the sum of the Christian faith, its ready acceptance would not be difficult to account for. But Christianity is something very different from

¹ Gibbon, vol. i. p. 536, 4to edit.

this one doctrine extracted from its comprehensive scheme. Does it follow, that, because this one heavenly truth, then first sanctioned by the word of God, met with a kindred response in the hearts of men, therefore the faith of Christ, as a whole, with all its solemn demands, and humbling power, would command the acquiescence and willing acceptance of mankind? To suppose this, would be to suppose either human nature, or the doctrine of the Cross, very different from what they were when St. Paul, as he passed from city to city, found one or two,—a Lydia, a Timothy, or a Dionysius,—a few here and there, ready to receive the Divine seed; but the mass reject him, and, at the instigation of the Jews, persecute him, and stone him. The Gospel is, in truth, antagonistic to human nature. It has no language to flatter the natural man. It is not a mere offer of peace. Nor is it a mere passive system, to be gazed at and admired, or rejected, at will. But it went forth to call men to repentance. It declared war against sin and error. It professed to “wrestle” with “principalities and powers,” and “the prince of this world;” and the Church, its witness and prophet, made her account to suffer as she bore testimony to the truth. And thus the prediction of our Lord was fulfilled, who declared that He came to send a sword upon the earth. Wielding the sword of the Spirit, the Church awoke the sword of man’s hatred and opposition against herself. Thus striving and struggling, she

planted the seed in sorrow. Yet was this nothing more than what all probability would have led us to anticipate, from a just appreciation of human nature on the one hand, and of the Gospel, as its rectifier and restorer, on the other.

Holy Scripture, then, and reasonable probability concur in supposing a laborious, and therefore merely gradual, extension of the Gospel of Christ; —and that the natural reluctance of man, and the real existing power of evil, would oppose, from age to age, many hindrances, varying in character with various countries and periods of the world's history, to its successful propagation.

For a confirmation of this same truth we have but to turn to the page of history, and see, even during the period of the most rapid extension of the Gospel, how many and manifold have been the antagonist powers that have been set in array to check its progress. The natural opposition such as a contemptuous philosophy would present to a simple assertion of the truth, or sensuality would offer to reasonings “on righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come,” may be passed by. It was not long before the civil power, the imperial majesty of Rome, bent itself to crush the rising sect, which, gathered into distinct societies, yet forming parts of a new kingdom, threatened to overturn the national Polytheism, and, with it, the frame of civil society. Bound up as the two were together, it was impossible for the Christians to escape the

suspicion of disaffection to the State.¹ For two centuries and a half, sometimes the malice, or the fear,—sometimes even the pious zeal of heathen emperors, aimed at extirpating the obnoxious body. Nor was it the arm of authority alone that was stretched out against Christians, but individual hatred, and interest, and popular superstition and fury,² sought to gratify their several passions by the slaughter of the servants of Christ. It was not till the middle of the third century that the free enjoyment of their religion was accorded to the Christians;³ while every reverse of fortune, a flood, or pestilence, or drought, provoked the rage of the populace against the Christians, as having called down the anger of the gods in judgment on their atheism.⁴ These sanguinary acts failed, indeed, in their object of extirpating the hated or dreaded religion; still they naturally, for a time, at least, checked its progress. For it is not the general law that persecution only promotes what it would suppress. The success of

¹ See Mosheim de Rebus Christ. Sec. I. § xxvii. "The Christians (says Neander, Hist. Christ. p. 86) were called, *irreligiosi in Cæsares, hostes Cæsarum, hostes populi Romani*."

² Eusebius, H. E. lib. iii. cap. 32; who refers, in cap. 33, to Tertullian's Apology, and Pliny's application to Trajan. Also Mosheim de Rebus Christ. pp. 571, 913, and Dodwell de Paucit. Mart. c. cix.

³ By the edict of Gallienus, A.D. 259. It is given by Eusebius, H. E. lib. vii. cap. 13. Neander remarks, that Christianity was now, for the first time, reckoned a "*religio licita*;" p. 143.

⁴ Dodwell de Paucit. Mart. c. xxxiv. See the edict of Marcus Aurelius in Eusebius, H. E. lib. iv. cap. 13. *αἶψα τοὺς ἀθέους*, was the common cry of the populace. Euseb. H. E. lib. iv. cap. 15.

the Persian persecution, when, on the restoration of the old dynasty, Christianity was obliterated, and the religion of the Zenda established in its place;¹ the extirpation of this, again, by the sword of Mahomet² four centuries later; the power which availed to crush the rising spirit of reformation in Spain;³ and, again, the tale of Moravian suffering,⁴ are sufficient to prove, that persecution needs only to be carried on with adequate vigour and perseverance to effect its deadly purpose.

Then, again, it is enough to allude to the various forms of unbelief and heresy, which successively sprang up, to recognise in them another and still more formidable obstruction to the extension of the Gospel. The appearance of the Christian faith seems to have been the signal for error not merely to multiply its forms, but to shape itself into system, and so try, if not to supplant, at least to rival the Divine revelation. Judaism, unable to oppose it, allied itself to Platonism, and formed a theosophic philosophy;—then Paganism sought for support by a similar alliance; then every form of Oriental mysticism coalesced with each and all of these; as if they separately came forth, and then set themselves in conjunction, to dispute with the

¹ A. D. 226. See Gibbon, ch. viii.; and Appendix, No. III.

² Or rather of Abubeker, the first caliph, A.D. 632. Gibbon, ch. li. vol. v. 285. Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. pp. 167, 168.

³ McCrie's *History of the Reformation in Spain*, its Progress, and Suppression.

⁴ Holmes' *History of the United Brethren*, vol. i. p. 165, &c.

Gospel the empire over the human mind. From the earliest period, too, sprung those more injurious forms of error which introduced division and perplexity within the very sanctuary of the Church; and which, in proportion as they approached more nearly to the truth, were more insidious and influential. It is mere sophistry to assert that such perversions of the truth, however much they “disturbed the peace and frequently disgraced the name of religion, yet contributed to assist rather than retard the progress of the Gospel:”¹ for whatever benefit may have been educed from the evil, by the good providence of God, yet, as regards at least the extension of the Gospel, their influence was prejudicial.

Allow that the existence of heresies and false systems led to a more explicit and complete development of the faith; that the Church was thereby consolidated; that by the learning of the Christians being called forth, the attention of the educated was secured: still such results affected the Church only *internally*, and would have the effect of contracting its compass by throwing off from it all that was heterogeneous. And *externally* these dissensions were calculated only to repel. To the casual observer, or even more anxious inquirer, the difference of sentiment, and the consequent disunion that was seen to exist, would convey the notion that no such

¹ Gibbon, ch. xv. p. 551.

thing as definite truth existed. The unbeliever would naturally confound one system with another, just as in the earliest days the Christians were confounded with the Jews by the Romans;¹ and the errors and vices of heretics would be attributed to the Church herself.² And a still more harmful effect of such dissensions would be to fix the thoughts of Christians on their own differences, and to prevent their sympathy and zeal from directing itself towards the unconverted, and exerting itself upon the mass of pagan darkness and sin which encompassed the Church on every side. To what other cause than this can we refer the fact of the feeble efforts made to evangelize the heathen, from the third to the sixth centuries; or the torpor which seemed to rest for several centuries on a large portion of the Eastern Church, that fruitful

¹ See a Treatise by Damann, "De Christianis ad Trajanum usque à Cæsaribus et Senatu Romano pro Cultoribus Religionis Mosaicæ semper habitis." Helmsb. 1790.

² The vices and magical practices of the Gnostics were imputed to the Christians, and were frequently the cause of the odium which fell upon them. Thus Eusebius remarks, *τοῖς ἀπίστοις ἔθνεσι πολλὴν παρέχειν κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου δυσφημίας περιουσίαν, τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν φήμης εἰς τὴν τοῦ παντὸς Χριστιανῶν ἔθνους διαβολὴν καταχεομένης*. H. E. lib. iv. 7. So Irenæus adv. Hæres. lib. i. cap. xxv. "Ad detractionem divini ecclesiæ nominis, quemadmodum et gentes, à Satana præmissi sunt (c. q. Carpocratiani) uti secundum alium modum, quæ sunt illorum audientes homines, et putantes nos omnes tales esse, avertant aures suas à præconio veritatis." Thus the arrival of Valentinus and Marcion at Rome, in 142, was a cause of the renewal of the sufferings of Christians, which gave rise to the first Apology of Justin Martyr.—Burton Eccl. Hist. ii. p. 110.

source of dissension; so that, while barbarian Europe was gradually converted to the faith, there issued from it but one mission, and that in a late age, to evangelize the pagan tribes which pressed upon its frontier.¹

Again, we cannot fail to reckon among the hindrances which actually checked the free diffusion of the Christian faith among the nations, those successive judgments with which it pleased God to visit the degenerating and distracted nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

It is surely a most just view that would regard the frequent invasions of the various northern hordes, which poured themselves for three centuries over the fertile plains of the old Roman dominion, as sent in judgment, and yet in mercy too, on the enervated

¹ This remark applies to what has been since more peculiarly called the Greek Church, whose parentage was claimed by the Chazares, Moravians, and Bulgarians, alone among the barbarian nations which overran Europe. The names of Cyril and Methodius, who converted these tribes in the ninth century, are the only ones which shine in the missionary annals of that branch of the Church after the fifth century. The other portion of the Eastern Church, if, indeed, it may be reckoned such, since it was so largely impregnated with heresy, the Syrian or Nestorian, will be spoken of in Lect. IV. Blumhardt expresses a similar opinion, *Etabl. du Christ.* vol. iv. p. 65—"Depuis plusieurs siècles l'Eglise Grecque, déchirée par des dissensions intestines, n'avait rien fait pour les païens; elle dépérissait au milieu des disputes théologiques et du culte des cérémonies . . . de sorte que cette église était à la fois devancée, en Occident par celle de Rome, et en Orient par sa rivale, celle des Nestoriens, qui couvrait l'Asie de ses missions, tandis que le siège de Constantinople laissait depuis des siècles, jusqu'aux portes mêmes de cette capitale, des nations païennes croupir dans leur idolâtrie."

and effete nations of the West,—a visible chastisement on their moral degradation; and yet, as we may conclude, the really shortest method of saving mankind from the most hopeless of barbarisms, an exhausted civilization. Nor had the Church been free from the contagion that infected the atmosphere. It alone, indeed, offered any resistance to the gravitating tone of thought and feeling, that marked the decline of spirit that prevailed;—it alone for a season supplied a bond of union which held together for a short time longer the already crumbling mass of Roman dominion;—but on every side signs of corruption, and seemingly approaching dissolution, betrayed themselves. In the East, wide-spread dissensions; in the North and South, among the British and African Churches, such a depravation of morals as to amount almost to a relapse into paganism; so that not Christian historians alone, but even the very barbarians themselves, professed that the scourge which visited the West, was inflicted by the just and corrective vengeance of the Almighty.¹

In the same point of view must we regard the subsequent rise and wonderful progress of the Mahometan power, which broke with amazing fury over the Eastern and African Churches, when they were sunk to their lowest point of depression; but which carried with it into Europe the seeds of future intellectual,² and, under God, even moral recovery.

¹ See Appendix, No. IV.

² See Forster's *Mahometanism Unveiled*, vol. ii. sect. 13

We may venture to trace the providential dealings of God with His Church in these phenomena in the world's history. Even in the uprooting of Christianity in some places, and of all Roman civilization, we may recognise a provision being made for the ready and effectual propagation of the Faith; but it was by a process which seemed like throwing the world back into its infancy again, which thoroughly tested the life of the Church, and cast before it the elements of social existence, to be gathered up and reconstructed. And in its toil through the long night of darkness that set in, we see, indeed, the presence of that creative power which makes all things new; but we find too, in the prevailing barbarism,¹ such an amount of obstacle, as rendered any rapid or universal expansion of Christianity impossible, without some miraculous interference in the ordering of God's dealings with His creatures.

Such obstructions, for the sins and unworthiness of man, and from no defect in the faithfulness of God's promises, were permitted, in the earlier periods of the propagation of the Church of Christ, to check its progress. Under them it may seem to have receded for a time, yet only to make in the end a more vigorous spring. Their existence, in some form or other, is a necessary result of the moral laws by which man is governed. They have never ceased, nor will they, till the consummation of all

¹ Routh, *Rel. Sacre*, ii. p. 437.

things. And therefore, such being the conditions under which any extension of the Gospel is to be expected, let me proceed to take a review of the present in comparison with the earlier periods; and to contrast such hindrances as may be felt, or anticipated now, with those which have already been met and surmounted.

The revolution that has passed over the face of Christian Europe, and of the world, has totally altered the relations in which the Church of Christ stands in regard to the heathen. Europe, which was the battle-field in which the kingdom of God for thirteen centuries struggled for ascendancy, has become Christianized, and thence the Church now has to look forth on the distant nations of the earth as from the centre and citadel of civilization, and to devise means for bringing the farthest lands under the dominion of the Cross.

1. This reflection alone suggests the almost exact contrariety between the circumstances under which the Gospel is to be preached now, and those which existed on its earlier promulgation. It is, indeed, necessary to distinguish the period which preceded the establishment of Christianity in the Roman Empire, from that which followed it, but the contrast of the present period with each of these remains equally marked and instructive.—Consider the Apostles and first preachers of the word, going forth among the polished nations of the earth; reflect on the condition of the cities which they

visited, the firm hold which Paganism had on the people, the splendour with which it was arrayed, its sumptuous temples, and gorgeous processions, the numberless associations, historical and political, with which it was bound up; then contemplate the position and character of the simple teacher of the Gospel of Salvation; and as far as human eye can see, there is the appearance only of weakness and simplicity, opposed to the whole force of worldly power, authority, and learning. Or take a later period. All this array in which Paganism was enthroned has passed away; in the room of it the antagonist of Christianity is seen in the dense masses of brute force that overspread the land. Still the aspect of Christians remains one only of weakness, or even of suffering. Christians were scattered about defenceless; they began to assemble themselves in religious houses, for piety or for safety;—and then was first seen the striking sight of men, dead to this world, retiring,¹ sometimes alone, sometimes with a few associates, to solitary rocks or forests, and awing their barbarous conquerors into reverence, by their very austerity and sanctity. But *now* the whole scene is again changed: “the stone” has become “a great mountain;” worldly power, and all the

¹ Such were Severin on the banks of the Danube, in the fifth century; Erroul in the forest of Ouche in Normandy, Columban in the solitude of Wasgan, Sigebert at St. Gothard, in the sixth century, &c. &c. See Surius, *Vitæ Patr.*; and Mabillon, *Acta Sanct.*

weight of learning and influence, are on the side of the Gospel ; Christians are the invaders and conquerors, and encircle heathenism with the armaments, and with the violence too, of war ; and the contest now, is that of Truth advancing with a resistless weight of temporal might and enlightenment on its side, against a Paganism, in some parts rude and unlettered, and everywhere debilitated and powerless.

2. Or again ; what had the earlier servants of Christ to offer, wherewith to attract the superstitious Greek or Roman, but that one blessing, (above all blessings, indeed, but which has nothing in itself to engage or conciliate the worldly mind,) the soul's salvation ? Civilization had already reached its highest pitch ; and to become a Christian, was to retrograde from the heights of polished and cultivated life, and to join a poor and despised sect,¹ whose doctrines seemed to denounce the glory which the men of this world had learnt to look upon with pride. It was somewhat different, indeed, in the subsequent period, when, in the wreck of civilization, all the relics of refinement, of knowledge, or of art, were deposited with the Christians : still these were

¹ The mean quality of its adherents was the constant charge of the opponents of Christianity, such as Celsus, Julian, Porphyry. See Mosheim de Rebus Christ. &c. Sec. I. § xxi. ; also Gibbon, ch. xx. p. 613.

Mr. Milman remarks, (*Hist. Christ.* ii. p. 264, note,) that "the strength of Christianity lay in the middle, perhaps the mercantile, classes." But he is speaking of the third century.

few and slight, confined to the simpler manual arts, rarely witnessed beyond the precincts of the convent, and so unlikely to draw attention; few and scanty at least, compared with the almost miraculous achievements of modern skill, which, even in its less elaborate forms, the savage deems to be supernatural; so that in Mahomedan Africa, where even now the faith of the Prophet makes rapid progress, he will string fragments of the written Koran round his neck as an amulet.¹ And if, in the period mentioned, the superiority in skill and knowledge, which the Christian possessed, was not without its effect in conciliating the barbarian mind, we may calculate how powerful an engine is possessed by the European nations, to whom the promulgation of the Gospel is now entrusted, in the gifts and refinements of civilization, wherewith to win the attention of the heathen to the higher gift of eternal life.

3. There is, moreover, what might almost be called a geographical contrariety between the circumstances of the earlier and the present period. The Christians of the first centuries sprang up and

¹ This circumstance was mentioned by a native of Western Africa. On the reverence which the Africans have for superior learning, Mr. Laird speaks: "In the interior, in every village where Mohammedanism is professed, the children crowd to learn scraps of the Koran."—Buxton's *Slave Trade*, p. 487. Curious instances of the wonder excited in the savage mind by witnessing the process of writing, and reading, are given by Mr. Williams, in the *Evidence on Aborigines*; and by Capt. Gardiner, in the account of his interview with Dingarn, in the Zooloo country.

lived in the midst of the Paganism which they sought to convert; their “abode,” their “going out,” and “coming in” were known; the circumstances of their obscure birth and their feeble condition would make them, like their Divine Master, to be despised; and, as prophets, they would have no honour in their own country. Even the latest of the imperial enemies of the Gospel ceased not to taunt the Christians with the earthly humiliation of their Redeemer.¹ But now the missionary presents himself to the heathen as one coming from a far land, from regions beneath another sun; one whom the providence of God has directed thither; his character is associated with no thought of personal inferiority, but carries with it the whole weight of European civilization; he is the representative of a national faith, and consequently is invested with all the moral influence which these circumstances exercise, and that rightfully, over the mind and imagination of man.

4. And this leads to a further and important reflection. Consider the condition of affairs before the Church was connected with the empire under Constantine; or, at a later period, before it allied

¹ Julian passed an edict that Christians should be called *Γαλίλαιοι*. Greg. Naz. Orat. I. in Julian, (quoted by Fabric. Lux. Evang. p. 306.) Theodoret relates, that Libanius, the friend of Julian, inquired, in derision of a Christian, shortly before the Emperor's death, *τί ποιεῖ ὁ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱός*; This scoll was answered by what resembled a prediction: *γλωσσόκομον, ἔφη, ὁ τοῦ παντός κατασκευάζει δημιουργός, ὃν σὺ κωμῶδῶν τέκτονος υἱὸν προσηγόρευσας*. Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. xviii. Hake. 1769.

itself to those rude forms of social existence into which, after their first inroad, the barbarian tribes settled themselves in the West; and we see that, though the preachers of the Gospel could announce its truths as fraught with *individual* blessings, and though they could exhibit the Church as a spiritual institution, designed to knit man to man in fresh and universal relationship, by uniting him to God, yet they could point to this kingdom as existing only apart from the great system of national organization into which it has pleased God that the families of man should be parcelled out. Designed, as the Church undoubtedly was, to amalgamate with all nations, to call out, perfect, and sanctify in each, its true national life, yet its power to effect this could not be witnessed, while the nations, as such, were still alien from the faith; and therefore we cannot be surprised, that, as the new kingdom of Christ exhibited itself, with its bonds of union, its laws, and discipline, and unity of action, it excited the jealousy and suspicion of the rulers of the world. They thought they saw in it a rival commonwealth. The suspicion of emperors was directed against it as a treasonable society. And although, in later days, too, the preaching of the Gospel, unaccompanied by the true impersonation of it in the Church, has given rise to the like accusation of interference with the civil rule of the nation, yet no such difficulty need attend the missionary from our land. While seeking

to draw to the faith those to whom authority among the heathen nations is committed, he will show that the Church interferes not with the civil rule; that these are co-ordinate powers; that the former will sanctify the latter;—calling upon the state, indeed, to rule as the delegate of God, and for the advancement of His kingdom, but, on the other hand, herself teaching men to see the authority of God impersonated in the civil government;—preserving the distinctiveness of national life and character, even while she declares that this life is drawn from Christ's universal kingdom.

Such, then, are some of the marked differences attending the extension of the Gospel in the present, compared with the earlier, period of its history. It will be seen at once, that they imply a different mode of action to be pursued; that the advantages are altogether in favour of the present period; and that what before were hindrances, are turned into powerful secondary aids in the conversion of the heathen.

And this is undoubtedly the case. Yet a little consideration will show, that these advantages are connected with a mere worldly ascendancy; powerful, indeed, if blessed of God, but carrying with them, frequently, concurrent difficulties. It may be that all this worldly power has not been directed towards the accomplishment of God's purposes; it may be that all this civilization has only hardened men's hearts; it may be that the force of national

influence has been bent on national aggrandizement, and not on the interests of God's kingdom; it may be that the riches, and the power, and a fearful energy for good or for ill, but not the *Christianity* of the nation, has been exhibited in the sight of the heathen: and if this be the case, we cannot indulge the cheerful hopes and prospects which the possession of such superiority might otherwise encourage. And besides this, we may perceive, even in the state of the heathen world, and of Christianity in relation to it, peculiar hindrances to the successful advancement of the kingdom of Christ, from which the earlier periods of its propagation were exempt.

§ 1. It is to be observed, then, that the form of religion with which the Gospel, in its first promulgation, had to contend, was mostly an unsystematized Polytheism, which had little or no hold on the religious affections of the people, was supported by no external evidence, had no religious books professing to be a revelation from heaven, (for the Sibylline writings, being of a political character, form no exception,) possessed no fixed creed, nor sacerdotal order, and was disunited from moral duty. In a word, it was, in reality, no religion;¹ but was rather a worship. And just the same thing may be observed of the idolatries of the

¹ "Conçoit-on une religion sans dogmes, une religion sans morale, une religion sans culte? Ce seroit concevoir une contradiction manifeste. Pour former une religion il faut donc que les

barbarian nations who were afterwards converted to the Christian faith, and who generally shared in the rude warlike superstitions, consisting of a few savage rites and legendary tales, which characterised the northern tribes.

Now it is clear that any floating and fabulous system of such a character, could offer, of itself, but a feeble resistance to the Christian faith, with its divine oracles, and transmitted creeds, and divinely ordered ministry, and pure morality. Hence it was that the triumphs of the Gospel were achieved over the heathen. For Judaism, supported as it was by the elder word of God, presented so strong a barrier against it, that Justin Martyr says, "Christianity found more, and more faithful, converts among the heathen, than among the Jews."¹ Hence, too, the first repulse and defeat which the Church met with was in the East, from the revived creed of Zoroaster, which could at least offer an appeal to its sacred books. Whereas, therefore, the Gospel, on its first propagation, was brought into contact merely with a fabulous idolatry; with a set of vague, uncertain conjectures on those awful realities respecting the soul, after a knowledge of which the

dogmes, la morale, et le culte, unis ensemble, et dépendans l'un de l'autre, fassent un tout indissoluble."—De la Mennais, *Essai sur l'Indifférence*, &c. iii. p. 113.

Leibnitz is quoted by this author, as applying this test to Paganism, in his "Remarque sur le Système de M. Bayle," tom. i. préf. London, 1720.

¹ Apol. I. c. 53.

nature of man unceasingly yearns; now, on the other hand, it finds all the heathen world, except one-fifth, ranged under the well-compacted religious systems of the East,—those of Mahomet, or of Brahm, and of Buddha; systems which no longer leave their votaries in doubt and hesitation, but present, in the first instance, such an admixture of truth with imposture, that it may be regarded rather as a Christian heresy¹ than a heathen superstition; in the two latter, such a gigantic mass of professed revelations, embracing the various fields of religion, science, and morals, as to oppress the mind of the votary by its own vastness;² interwoven, as it is, with the whole range of social and domestic duty, appealing for its authority to an almost incalculable antiquity, and rivetted together by a rigid and despotic institution of caste.

So that, comparing the present aspect of Paganism with that which it presented to Christianity, both in the earliest and in the second period of its propagation, we discover these contrasts: as compared with the former period, there is a contrast between the highly-intellectual civilization, but undefined mythology, of Greece and Rome, and the imperfect civilization, but vast and compact mythology, of the present nations of the

¹ De la Mennais, vol. iii. 25, who refers to Leibnitz, Nicole, Sir W. Jones, &c.

² See Duff, on India, and Indian Missions, ch. ii.

East :—as compared with the latter period, a contrast between this same imperfect civilization of the Pagan East, and the rude unlettered barbarisms of Europe, on the breaking up of the Roman empire.

It is clear that, in the former contrast, the disadvantage lies strongly on the side of the present prospects of Christianity; and in the latter contrast, Pagan civilization (such as now exists) would seem to present a greater obstacle, than Pagan barbarism, to the reception of the Christian faith.

On this point, however, I would further explain myself.

We have learnt to think that all blessings are comprehended in civilization, and that all good is excluded by the want of it. But with regard to the comparative advantage or disadvantage which it presents to the propagation of the Truth, the difficulty of the question, such as it is, seems to have arisen from a misconception of the term. There is, indeed, a moral civilization, consisting of the culture of the social instincts, and the powers of conscience, which must commonly precede even an inclination to receive the Truth; and where these are dead or dissipated in a savage wildness of character, an effectual obstacle is offered to the inculcation of the Gospel. But there is, too, a mere intellectual civilization, which, either springing from worldly shrewdness, or based upon a

corrupt religious system, opposes an equally impenetrable barrier to the Gospel. So that, while we do require the existence of the former (which Christianity, and the exhibition of Christian life by the Church, are best calculated to call forth) for the reception of the faith of Christ, we must rather deprecate the latter as a hindrance to the same result, in consequence of the greater defect of moral preparation. We cannot doubt whether it be easier to arrest the attention, to affect the imagination, to move the feelings with a sense of personal misery, to waken the moral sentiments, and so prepare the ground for the reception of the Divine seed, in a savage, though rude and unenlightened, or in a heathen whose mind and moral nature have been distorted and hardened by a vicious civilization. Modern experience may be appealed to for a decision. Take the Protestant missions, in which conversions far more numerous and more satisfactory have of later days been made among the negroes of Africa, and the natives of Greenland, or New Zealand, than among the more refined natives of Asia.¹ And therefore we must see in the present face of the larger portion of the heathen world, a more

¹ See Lect. VI. for these comparative results. Mr. Beecham, in his evidence (on Aborigines, p. 133) before the House of Commons, remarks: "I do not hesitate to say, that, so far as our experience goes, we find that many of the most ignorant and uncultivated heathen tribes receive the Gospel more readily than the inhabitants of India."

formidable hindrance to the diffusion of the truth, than was presented to the earlier Church of Christ on the downfall of the Roman empire.¹

§ 2. But there are obstructions of another kind, in which a melancholy contrast is offered by the present, compared with the early age of Christianity. Nothing, we may venture to say, of a secondary nature, not miracles, nor learning, nor individual authority, so moved the heart of the Pagan worshipper to a reception of the Gospel, on its first promulgation, as the purity of Christian lives, the constancy of Christian faith. We have on our lips the multiplied testimonies of the earlier writers to this; the fact has grown into a proverb,—it has been urged by the philosophic inquirer, as one special cause of the success of the Gospel.² “Non magna loquimur, sed vivimus,”³ was the answer by which sceptical reasonings were met; and it told more irresistibly than the most laboured apology. It was one note of the Church—its sanctity. Just as it lost this, it lost its vigour; till God visited it with judgment, and then again men went forth lifting up this ensign to the heathen, who saw in it the power of God, and worshipped.

¹ Appendix, No. V.

² Gibbon, ch. xv. It would be superfluous to illustrate a point so unquestionable.

³ οὐ γὰρ λόγοις διαμνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ πράξεις ἀγαθὰς ἐπιδεικνύουσιν.—Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christ. sect. ii.

It is an ungracious task to repeat the miserable tale of European crime, but upon it lies the awful guilt of checking the Gospel in its career, of closing the door against its entering in among the heathen. The first acquaintance of savage tribes with Christians has been formed with men, whose hateful vices have made them appear the very emissaries of evil. Can we wonder that they should think it far better to worship before an idol, though stained with blood,—much more, to offer a bloodless sacrifice of fruits and flowers before the Great Spirit, the belief in whom has a power over their conscience,—than to embrace the creed of men, however advanced in arts, and in the devilish power of “breaking down and subduing all things,” who would seem to draw from it only a sanction for crime? If the Gospel was first sped on its way by the manifold graces of “the new man” formed in its converts, then there is no longer any mystery in the present difficulties of missionaries; we can understand why, though tribes reject the Christian faith, and waste away before the European, in America and Australia, yet they still flourish and have gathered round the Cross, amid the frosts and snows of Labrador and Greenland, whose barren wastes offer no tempting prize to lure Christian avarice to their shores; and we cannot wonder at the earnest but saddening testimony of one who had laboured among the heathen, that, in attempting to introduce Christianity among a people, he would rather by far go to an

island where they had never seen an European,¹ than where European influence had been experienced.

§ 3. And once more ; I would shortly refer to a peculiar difficulty which now besets the course of the Gospel, and from which it was free on its first promulgation ; viz. the want of unity. How inseparable it is from the one idea of a “kingdom,” under which the Gospel is presented in the Holy Scriptures,—how great an efficacy² was attached to it by the first Christian writers—how the greatest triumphs of the Gospel were effected while the Church wore but one aspect before the heathen,—all this is at once admitted, and leads us to apprehend, that a large portion of the sterility of our missions may be attributed to that discord which Christianity exhibits in the very sight of the unbeliever.

It may perhaps be said that disunions existed in early times ; and this indeed was so : yet it may be observed that they existed during the period when no great extension of the limits of the Church occurred ; the points of difference, moreover, were internal, they did not affect the really practical questions of the existence and character of the Church and its Sacraments, and therefore would not attract the notice of the heathen ; “and, even in those differences, the same tenets, however erroneous, were for the most part maintained in the same district, so as to exhibit to the neighbouring tribes

¹ See Evidence on Aborigines, p. 277.

² St. Cyprian (De Unit. Eccl. § 6,) calls it “sacramentum unitatis.”

the appearance of unity.”¹ Far different this from the aspect which Christianity must present, where, as happens, eleven separate societies are congregated in the same place to extend the Gospel.² Consider only the effect of this: must there not arise a strong presumption in the mind of an unbeliever, against the Divine origin of that doctrine, or system, which cannot be clearly ascertained, or on which its upholders cannot unite? For unity is the law of truth: that after which the understanding labours, and to which every enlargement of knowledge points. It is that towards which, also, the perfection of society tends.³ For evil dissociates and separates, and holiness unites, because it draws to God; so that unity becomes the evidence of the presence of God, disunion a witness to the presence of evil. And these instructive truths are recognised

¹ Bishop Middleton's Charge to the Clergy of Calcutta, Sermons, p. 220. See Appendix, No. VI.

² At the Cape of Good Hope, the following Missionary Associations are represented as having stations; viz. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; Scottish Missionary Society; United Brethren; French Protestant Mission; German Missionary Society; London Missionary Society; Wesleyan Missionary Society; Baptist Missionary Society; American Board of Missions; Rhenish Missionary Society; Paris Missionary Society. No account is taken here of the Roman Catholics, who, according to the “*Annales de la Foi*,” have one Bishop and four Priests at the Cape. On the practical effect of such disunion, see Appendix, No. VII.

³ M. Guizot somewhere remarks, that “no *society* can be completely savage or iniquitous.” All society therefore implies the presence of a certain amount of good, and just as more or less good prevails, the society is more or less perfect; so that unity, which is the perfection of society, is a test of prevailing goodness.

by heathen minds, which are repelled instead of attracted, whenever there is wanting the one great evidence which Christ Himself appointed whereby the world should know that the Father had sent Him.

And what has been the effect of dissension at home, but to weaken exertion, to dissipate, where concentration is most needful for success? It has introduced, too, a peculiar perplexity in determining *where* fresh missions may be established; how to observe those missionary rules which the Apostle enjoined on himself,—“not to extend himself beyond his measure,” not to “preach where Christ is already preached,” nor “to build on another man’s foundation.” It is a difficulty, indeed, which neither the Romanist nor the sectarian feels; but they escape it only by destroying the true idea of the Church altogether; the one by breaking it up into congregational sections, the other, by making it coextensive only with allegiance to Rome; and thus claiming, each of them, the whole world as his own share and portion. And this disunion has operated, too, even to the hiding altogether of the truth, that there *is* one Body. Men have shrunk from avowing a principle which was denied by fact, and which they therefore felt to be an unreality; they have been neglectful of those means whereby alone the oneness and the permanency of the body can be maintained, and man knit together in one communion with his fellow-man and with God.

Difficulties and hindrances such as these cannot

but present themselves to the mind as it reviews the circumstances under which the work of God is to be done,—circumstances, taken one by one, almost in direct contrariety to those which marked the first promulgation of the Gospel, yet only forming a part of those general conditions under which it is destined to make its way.—“The servant is not greater than his Lord.” If the Lord of Life “came unto His own, and His own received Him not,” we need not be surprised if His kingdom of grace, left to establish its dominion amidst strangers and aliens, has met with rejections: we need not be *surprised* at past delays and reverses, nor at present obstructions. Yet should they serve as a special call of God, bidding us to examine whence they arise. There are no hindrances that can really avail to check the Gospel, but those which come from within the Church of Christ. Persecution only served to scatter the seed wider; invasion concentrated and gathered the light into a stronger focus; judgments pruned the tree, and made it more fruitful; as the Church seemed to be impaired in one direction, it broke forth the more vigorously in another. And so neither now will any such visitations prevail to check the course of the Gospel, if only the true means be faithfully exerted for its extension. And, therefore, it becomes a subject of immediate and deep concern, to ascertain what that agency is which God has ordained for the execution of this His work.

LECTURE III.

THE ORDAINED MEANS FOR THE EXTENSION OF THE GOSPEL.

EPHES. III. 10.

TO THE INTENT THAT NOW UNTO THE PRINCIPALITIES AND
POWERS IN HEAVENLY PLACES MIGHT BE KNOWN¹ BY THE
CHURCH THE MANIFOLD WISDOM OF GOD.

To ascertain the full meaning of these words, it is needful to take them in connexion with those which occur in the verse but one preceding, and upon which they depend. St. Paul *there* refers to his call to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles; “Unto me,” he says, “who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ;” and the purpose or intent for which he was so commissioned is contained in the text. So that the Apostle here declares two things; that his preaching the name of Christ to the pagan world

¹ i.e. “*might be made known*,” γνωρισθῆναι διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας: “*ut innotescat principatibus, &c. per Ecclesiam.*”—Vulg. “*Nota fiat principibus, &c. per Ecclesiam.*”—Comment. S. Ambros. Append. Op. vol. iv. 282. Ed. Bened.

was subordinate to a further object, namely, the making known the manifold wisdom of God to the heavenly hierarchy; and that the instrument for effecting this was the Church.¹

Now this declaration of St. Paul may seem to conclude the question which I propose to bring before you; viz. the means ordained of God for extending the Gospel in its full and complete design: yet I shall venture to enter into it at some length, both because of the importance of acting in accordance with His orderings to secure the blessing annexed to them, and because much of the failure and sterility that has attended the propagation of the faith seems traceable to the neglect of these divine appointments.

A little consideration will show that the character of the means adopted for the extension of the Gospel, will depend upon the view taken of the Gospel itself, in its design and effect. It may be viewed solely as a spiritual influence imparted directly by the Holy Spirit to the individual soul, whereby it receives the Divine truth, is converted and saved. To one thus viewing the purpose of the Gospel, it will appear that the chief part to be taken by man in the conversion of others, consists in setting before them, by any and by every means, the truth as it is in Jesus; that

¹ "But whence," says St. Chrysostom, "hath this been made manifest to the angels? By the Church."—Homil. *in loc.* Theodoret interprets it, διὰ τῆς περὶ τῇν ἐκκλησίαν οἰκονομίας.—*Interpret. in loc.*

it belongs to each one, as he has received so to impart to others ; and that the zeal and earnestness by which he is moved to engage in this work, are the only credentials required for his authority to do so. It will, under this view, be the duty of all to labour for the salvation of souls, on the great law that Christians live not to themselves. In order to give greater efficiency to this design, numbers will combine together ; but, in carrying on the work, there will be no authority recognised as appointed of God, as especially commissioned by Him to dispense the gifts, to speak with the voice, and to send in the name of Christ.¹

But if Christianity be not solely a spiritual influence on the soul of man, but rather a spiritual yet visible institution, *in which* souls are gathered to the Lord, and nourished to eternal life, then Christians will view themselves, not as mere individuals, but as members of a body too ; then the Gospel is no longer to be propagated as a naked abstraction of truth, but in connexion with a system ; then the Holy Spirit will work His gracious ends through specific means, ordained indeed of God, but yet administered by man.

And now, in proceeding to establish this latter position, I shall be pardoned if I am only asserting principles with which the minds of most here present are familiar, but which are not sufficiently

¹ See Appendix, No. VIII.

recognised nor acted on abroad, and which really lie at the bottom of the subject I have in hand ; and upon the bringing out and vigorous acting upon which, our hopes depend, of carrying the work of God onward, and seeing the Lord of Life confessed and adored by a heathen world.

Let me observe then, first, how entirely in consistency with the dealings of God it is, that all inward, spiritual power should be closely allied to some outward form or system, and conveyed through it to man. Is it not thus that the hidden laws of nature work under a veil ; that we know nothing of them but in their outward development, in which we recognise their presence ? Is it not the case in the providential dealing of God, most mysterious as it is, that upon some outward event, some accident, perhaps some bodily injury, happening to an individual, a moral revolution is made to depend, not to one being only, but, it may be, to a whole generation, nay, even to the entire human race ? And so closely are these two connected, the seen and the unseen, so much do they act and react the one upon the other, that we cannot draw the line between them, nor mark where the functions of the one cease, and those of the other begin. But we see how this condition of things harmonizes with the twofold nature of man ; how there is in the one man just the same interdependence between what is outward and what is inward ; how the inward movement ever tends towards an outward

development ; how it gains accuracy, precision, and strength from it ; and how it is confirmed into a habit by the constant repetition of the external act. Was not this the source of the Psalmist's earnest exclamation, " I am fearfully and wonderfully made ;"—not in body merely, but in spirit more ; and most in the conjunction of the two ?

A presumption to the same effect may be drawn further from considering what the nature of man would seem to demand for itself, and what provision has been actually made for it in the dispensations of God. As a moral being, he has not been left alone on the earth ; but for his improvement he is united to a system of moral relationship and mutual dependence. He is at once, on his birth, placed in a relationship to others as a son ; he is linked to a family. And all mankind are thus clustered into groups, in which each one finds himself, prior to any consent of his own, tied to a certain rule and system, from which he cannot break himself without sin, and on compliance with which his happiness depends. Within this system his moral nature is trained and disciplined ; and probably a stamp is affixed to it, which not all the vicissitudes of after years can altogether efface.

And further we may remark, that in order to the perpetuation and transmission of principles, or religious truths, it seems necessary that these should be embodied in certain institutions and outward forms, and conveyed through a definite

channel. Thus, laws have ever been connected with a settled mode of administration ; religious tenets have been joined to external ceremonies and rites, and transmitted by a separate order, as well as preserved in writing. And we may observe that just in proportion as either of these provisions has been neglected, the religion has varied, or died away. It has varied, because the notions sought to be conveyed have not been truly transmitted from mind to mind, but have been modified either by the different aspects in which individuals have viewed them, or by the shifting character of succeeding ages ; and thus having lost all identity and permanency, they have quickly disappeared. And the great check to this is to be found in the doctrines being transmitted in an appointed channel, with a fixed test by which they may be tried, and embodied in a system of outward observances, of ceremony, or of worship.

These few remarks have been introduced, as offering a presumption, drawn from the analogy of God's general dealings, and from the facts of man's experience, that the Gospel, though spiritual in its nature, would yet be communicated through a certain external and visible system ; 1st, for conveying the spiritual blessings which it has to bestow ; 2dly, for educating man as a social being ; 3dly, for perpetuating and extending the truth.¹

¹ A passage of Hooker's is to the point : E. P. Book V. lxxvi. § 9. " Our fourth proposition set down was, that religion, with-

If we look for a further corroboration of this presumption, the only instances bearing immediately on the point, from which we can ascertain the will and purpose of God, are to be found in His actual dealings with the fathers of the human race,—with the Church, under the patriarchal and Mosaic dispensations. In both these cases, the revelation was imparted in connexion, at least, with a system :¹ it was committed for its perpetuation not to man as an individual, but as associated according to God's ordinance. In the former, the earliest and divinely instituted appointment of domestic life was taken, and consecrated as a shrine for preserving and transmitting the treasure of Divine truth : the head of the family was the priest of the Lord, the ruler of His household. In the Mosaic dispensation the association was still further extended, and made to embrace a civil polity ; but strictly, as will be allowed, the covenant of God with man was

out the help of a spiritual ministry, is unable to plant itself ; the fruits thereof not possible to grow of their own accord. If it did, I could easily declare how all things which are of God, He hath, by wonderful wisdom, sodered, as it were, together, with the glue of mutual assistance ; appointing the lowest to receive from the nearest what the influence of the highest yieldeth. And therefore the Church being the most absolute of all His works, was in reason to be ordered also with like harmony, that what He worketh might, no less in grace than in nature, be effected by hands and instruments duly subordinated to the power of His spirit.”—Vol. ii. p. 579. Ed. Keble.

¹ See Bishop Bilson's “Perpetual Government of Christ's Church.” Ch. i. and ii. ; On the “Domestical Discipline of the Church before the Law of Moses ;” and “The National Regiment of the Church under the Law.”

entrusted to a visible society ; within it, and as sharing in the privileges conveyed through it, the individual partook of the promised blessings of God, and under it was educated in the knowledge and service of Jehovah. He was not a solitary being, but one of a body, and to him, as such, pertained “the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants.”¹

And, therefore, in all these considerations, we have evident proof of the manner in which God does communicate His gifts to man ; and if it be found that in a fresh dispensation the same analogy is observed—that it does not consist of a mere revelation of Divine truth, nor of spiritual gifts imparted immediately to the soul, but of both of these in connexion with a visible institution, and with certain ordinances as signs and vehicles for the perpetuation and conveyance of His gifts—we shall be prepared to recognise such a dispensation as entirely in accordance with the usual dealings of God, and with the actual dealings of man.²

And such an institution is presented to us under the Gospel, in the Church. Surely it is not a valid argument against this ordinance of God, to urge, that, as contrasted with all previous dispensations, the Gospel is a spiritual system, and

¹ Rom. ix. 4.

² This is very forcibly put by the present Bishop of Calcutta, in his late Charge of 1842-1843, p. 26 ; “Man, being as he is, must have a Church. Christianity without order and authority is a dream, an enthusiasm, a desolation.”

therefore is to be distinguished from them by the absence of any such external organization. For is not this to set things spiritual and things visible in opposition, as incompatible one with another? And is there not some such notion latent in the minds of those who think that they are vindicating what is spiritual, in proportion as they carefully exclude everything external? Yet no such opposition is set before us in God's word; nay, rather in the reality of a *spiritual body*, which is revealed to the Christian as a part of the wonderful working of Christ, and in the mysterious truth of the Incarnation, in the union of the heavenly and the earthly, the contrary is set before us as one object of our devout admiration. Spiritualities may be linked to things visible and tangible, and be dependent on them for their conveyance. So that, while we disallow the tenet of the Romanists, who would *confound* the two, we equally reject the error of those who would *dissociate* the two. We maintain their *union* against the one class, who would carnalize the spiritual gift of God, on the plea of making it real; and against the other, who would idealize it, on the plea of keeping it spiritual.

And holy Scripture bears on its front that God has ordained such a visible system, a holy society, the Church; to which are entrusted the oracles of truth, and the means of grace. Prophecy, and the New Testament, the teaching and the acting of the Apostles, and the consent of primitive ages, concur

in so representing the new covenant. But as this fact is urged with a view to a further point, viz. that to this body the function of preaching and propagating the Gospel is committed, those passages will chiefly be adduced in corroboration which illustrate this position.

For if we turn to the prophetic writings, it will be seen at once that the word of God does not represent the future believers of the Gospel as a number of individuals, or as a combination voluntarily formed; but the terms by which they are designated, convey the idea of some one single object or person.¹ Thus the Church is spoken of by the Psalmist as “the king’s daughter;” in the Canticles as a “bride;” by the Prophets as a “mountain,” or as a habitation and resort of man, as “the Lord’s house,” “the city Jerusalem;” and she is prophesied of as resembling the four great empires which were to precede, and then give way to her sway. Surely such language seems purposely used to bring before the mind the idea of the corporate body of the Church, rather than of its separate members. So, also, every increase or extension of the Church is represented by one of two ideas, which yet seem still to exclude the thought of a mere union of independent parts, *i.e.* either by an accretion from without to a fixed centre, or by the expansion of the body as from a centre. Thus, on the one hand, “nations” are said to “flow unto

¹ See Barrow, *Unity of the Church*, Works, vol. vii. 628.

it;” “many people shall” go up “to the house of the God of Jacob.”¹ On the other hand, her extension from within is thus described: “Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations . . . For thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left; and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and make the desolate cities to be inhabited.”² In the same way she is spoken of as “a joyful mother of children,”³ as “the barren” that did “not bear,”⁴ but whose “children” shall say in her “ears, The place is too strait for me: give place to me that I may dwell.”⁵

Examine next the New Testament, and the language is still the same. It will strike any one who considers the point, how much more prominent is the idea of the Church as a body, than that of the individual. The very phrase, “the kingdom of heaven,” and “of God,” which was the first announcement of the Gospel made by John the Baptist, and by our Lord Himself, and the various images under which it is typified in the Parables, all represent the Gospel dispensation as a system to be planted on the earth, the character and fortunes of which are indicated as of a person. To this, and not to individuals, is indefectibility promised; with those whom our Lord called, and commissioned to

¹ Isa. ii. 2, 3. ² Isa. liv. 2, 3. ³ Psal. cxliii. 9.

⁴ Isa. liv. 1. ⁵ Isa. xlix. 20.

represent Him, and bear rule in His kingdom, He left the promise to be present with them "even unto the end of the world." To them the command was given, "Go ye and teach all nations."¹

And in the Acts of the Apostles, and the apostolic Epistles, wherein we must look for the realization of this idea, and for the growth of the Church, we find the same twofold representation that has been traced in the prophecies. First, a society is set up, and is increased by addition, gathering round the Apostles as a centre. The converts, being baptized, "continued in the Apostles' fellowship;" they were "added to the Church daily;" and were thus spoken of as in a "state of salvation."² In other places they are spoken of as being "added to the Lord."³ Throughout the Epistles they are reminded that there is "one body," constituted in a certain way, endowed with a peculiar ministry, for the very purpose, first, of "perfecting saints;" next, of preserving oneness of faith, and purity of doctrine.⁴ Into this body they were all baptized. They had "come unto Mount Sion . . . the heavenly Jerusalem . . . the church of the first-born . . . and to Jesus."⁵ The great subject set forth is "the increase of the body,"⁶ the "edifying of the Church."⁷ Again, it is the depository of the faith, being "the pillar and ground of the truth."⁸

¹ Matt. xxviii. 19.

³ Acts v. 14.

⁵ Heb. xii. 22, 23.

⁷ 1 Cor. xiv. 5, 12.

² *συνάμενοι*. Acts ii. 47.

⁴ Eph. iv. 11—13.

⁶ Ephes. iv. 16.

⁸ 1 Tim. iii. 15.

We must be struck by the prominence given here and elsewhere to the idea of the body, and how little, in comparison, the thought of the individual, apart from it, is contemplated.

Again; as the idea of the propagation of the Gospel is represented, in such passages as the foregoing, by believers being joined to the body, so likewise it is exhibited by the body being extended; by offshoots from it being planted in distant parts, as colonies from a mother country. Wherever the Gospel took root, there a Church was formed—was formed, not round a doctrine, but round a commissioned teacher; either Presbyters were ordained,¹ or one of the Apostolic company, as Silas and Timothy at Berea, was left behind to organize the society.² And over a Church thus formed by himself, St. Paul retained an authority *by virtue of his apostleship*: for it is very observable that, in his discussion with the Corinthians, by whom he had been set at nought, his aim was, not to establish on independent grounds his claim to visit, to rebuke, to set things in order, to punish—but merely to establish

¹ Thus Clemens Rom. states that the Apostles acted; *κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ Πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελόντων πιστεύειν.* Ep. I. xlii.

² “There is scarce any instance in the New Testament,” (observes Archbishop Potter,) “of their (the Apostles) ordaining ministers at the *first time* of their coming to any place, unless perhaps at Ephesus, where St. Paul, having been resident almost three years together, had sufficient time to prove the fitness of his converts for the ministry.”—On Church Government, ch. iii.

his *apostleship*, as though this office, once proved to be vested in himself, carried with it the authority he sought to exercise.¹

Thus, then, the Gospel was spread by the propagation of the Church ; each fresh seed, so planted, carrying within itself, though in germ, the perfect organization of the parent tree from which it sprang. But now a further question arises respecting the instrumentality used in the execution of this work ; by whom the duty was undertaken ; by what means converts were gained. And first, it will appear, the commission to preach the Gospel was imparted by the Church itself, from whence apostolic men went forth. It was not an act merely of individual zeal (though this, of course, was most needful, and was a grace of the Holy Spirit), but of an authoritative commission also.² The Apostles that were at Jerusalem *sent* Peter and John, to confer a spiritual gift on the disciples at Samaria.³ The same occurred when the Apostles and Elders, with the whole Church, *sent* chosen men to Antioch.⁴ Not even did St. Paul enter upon his apostleship to the Gentiles, without being separated and *sent* thereunto by the Church.⁵ He specially commends the brother⁶ (probably St. Luke) to the Corinthians,

¹ Comp. 2 Cor. x. 8 ; 1 Cor. ix. 1, xii. 28, iv. 21, xvi. 1, xi. 34.

² See Appendix, No. IX. ³ Acts viii. 14. ⁴ Acts xv. 22.

⁵ The strong argument derivable from this instance of St. Paul, is insisted upon by Dr. Hey, Book IV. Art. 23, sect. 22, quoted by Rose, Commission, &c. p. 58.

⁶ 2 Cor. viii. 18. οὗ ὁ ἑταῖρος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ—not for *writing*, but *preaching* the Gospel, as in ch. x. 14. Hammond, *in loc.*

as chosen¹ of the churches to travel and preach with him; and the other brethren as “messengers,” *the sent* of the churches.² Moreover, it is to be remarked, that the very language of Scripture bears witness to the same truth of the office of preaching the Gospel belonging to men authoritatively commissioned thereunto. *To proclaim the Gospel to unconverted men* is usually designated by a single word (κηρύττειν); and it is to be observed that both this word and the kindred expression “to evangelize” (εὐαγγελίζεσθαι), *when employed to denote the same act*, are applied in the New Testament solely to apostles, or men authoritatively commissioned to the office.³

This consideration will serve to illustrate, also, the anxiety which St. Paul manifests in all his writings, to assert that he was not acting as an individual stirred by his personal zeal for the salvation of souls, and for the glory of Christ, but that he was acting in consequence of his divine commission. He commences seven of his epistles by urging that he was an apostle, not by the will of man, but by “the commandment,” “the will” of God. In the remarkable expression which he uses in his first epistle to Timothy, that he was “ordained a preacher and an apostle,”⁴ he adds a solemn asseveration (“I speak the truth in Christ; I lie not,”) in

¹ χειροτονήθεις. 2 Cor. viii. 19. On the use of this word, see Appendix, No. X.

² ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν, 2 Cor. viii. 23.

³ See Appendix, No. XI.

⁴ 1 Tim. ii. 7.

confirmation of his being thus appointed “a herald” of the Gospel. And that it was a part of the apostolic commission is further confirmed, by observing that, in the instructions which the same Apostle gives to Timothy, he charges him, in addition to the duties towards those *within* the Church, such as “teaching,” “reproving,” “exhorting,” likewise “to preach” or herald abroad “the word to them that were *without*.”¹

Such, then, is the argument which holy Scripture supplies in proof, not only of the Church being the institution of Christ—a visible body, endowed with invisible privileges,—but that to it, as a body under apostolic rule, is entrusted the commission to propagate the Gospel by means of its appointed ministers and heralds; and that it was by the extension of itself, of its own divinely-constituted system, and by the dispensation of its ordinances, that the internal gift was conveyed, as through channels from a fountain-head, to the heathen.

Nor were these rules neglected in the ages next succeeding the apostolic times. It was not deemed that individual earnestness was an adequate vocation for the high work of being an evangelist to the nations; nor was it deemed that the authority to send lay in any number of associated individuals, however zealous for the honour of Christ,

¹ Comp. 1 Tim. vi. 2, and 2 Tim. iv. 2. For the difference between *κηρύσσω* and *διδάσκω*—*λόγος* and *διδασχῆ*, see Appendix, (in the preceding page,) No. XI.

but that it rested with the Church, commonly with the bishops bordering on the waste lands of heathenism, to send¹ wherever a famine for the word, or an opportunity for communicating it, was found to exist. Instances in support of this will occur, when we come to review the progress of the Gospel in the subsequent periods of the history of the Church. But the testimony of Eusebius is too remarkable to be omitted, who speaks of evangelists,² called also the disciples of the Apostles, as appointed to preach Christ to those who had not heard His name, and to deliver to them the Gospel.³ And witness to the observance of the same rule is further borne by one, not a strenuous supporter of apostolic authority, who, in his commentary on the affairs of Christians,⁴ writes, that “it was certainly the custom, in early days, for

¹ For corroboration and instances of this statement, see Appendix, No. XII.

² Although it is uncertain (as Archbishop Potter observes, ch. iii.) what the exact nature of this office was, yet (as Hooker remarks, referring to this passage of Eusebius, E. P. V. lxxviii.) in after days they were Presbyters who were sent abroad, and “painfully preached Christ . . . to them who as yet had never heard the doctrine of faith.” It is unaccountable how Schlensner could have interpreted *εὐαγγελισταὶ* as those, “qui ad varios Christianorum cœtus mittebantur, et ab alio ad alium migrantes, non tam primæ Doctrinæ rudimenta tradebant, quam *institutionem apostolorum continuare* solebant.” And this he says, quoting this passage of Eusebius, and the comment of Theodoret on Ephes. iv. 11, in which the latter says of evangelists, *ἐκεῖνοι περιῶντες ἐκήρυττον*. This last word might have decided the nature of their office.

³ Hist. Eccl. iii. 37. See Appendix, No. XIII.

⁴ Mosheim de Rebus Christ. Sæc. Prim. p. 176. “Sic nempe consuetudo antiquorum temporum ferebat, ut qui ex cœtu

such members of any Church as desired to imitate the example of the Apostles, and to extend the limits of the kingdom of Christ, to apply to the Bishop for his licence, and to enter on his travels with his sanction." And further concurrent testimony establishes the rule, on the Gospel being planted in any new district, of a Bishop being straightway sent to preside over and direct the rising Church ;¹ and in order that all might be preserved in due harmony and unity, the council of Chalcedon specially provided² for the consecration of bishops in foreign parts, and the subordination of the Churches to the patriarchate of Constantinople.

Such being the *agents* in dispensing the word of life to the heathen, it follows next to determine by what *methods* it was administered, and converts instructed and edified in the way of Christian truth and

quodam Christiano Apostolos imitari, atque fines regni Christi proferre volebant, facultatem proficiscendi ab Episcopo peterent, et ejus verbis iter suum facerent." And he adds, "Et sexcenti sunt veterum ante Constantinum scriptorum loci, ex quibus elucet, nefas primâ Christianarum rerum ætate fuisse, gerere aliquid et suscipere ad religionem pertinens, Episcopo vel ignaro vel dissentiente."

¹ This has been fully illustrated already in Appendix, No. XII.; for in the instances there adduced, the missionaries were consecrated as bishops. It is needless to mention how universal this rule was in later ages. The following passage, however, in Thomassin is curious :—"With respect to new colonies of Christians and new bishoprics, the councils of Africa had decreed (Concil. Afric. 86—88) that he should be bishop of each Church and people, who gained the same to the Catholic unity, and retained it undisturbed for three years."—Vet. et Nov. Discipl. part i. lib. i. cap. lv. § 13. Latin edit.

² Can. xxviii. Beveridge, Pandect. vol. i. p. 145. See Appendix, No. XIV.

perfection. It would seem, indeed, altogether in accordance with reason,—since the commission had been given to a certain body to preach the Gospel to all nations, and to teach them to observe all things whatsoever the redeeming Son of God had commanded,—that these messengers of the Lord should, then and for evermore, fulfil their commission by imparting the truth as they had received it from the mouth of their Lord, and that they should commit it to others to do the same. It is altogether in accordance with reason, and with the good providence of a merciful God, that, to preserve the truth so entrusted to man from being either lost, or mutilated, or corrupted, or overlaid with human inventions, it should be committed to writing; that thus there should remain an unchanging standard of its purity. Moreover, it would be altogether in accordance with the dictates of wisdom, that, in imparting the doctrines of a faith which neither the will nor the understanding would naturally embrace, it should be communicated in such a way and by such measure, as those to whom it was preached were able to bear, and as would be likely to secure their assent.

A twofold method of imparting the truth, then, naturally presents itself in the authoritative teaching of the Church, and in the written word of God.¹ Surely it could be only through an extreme

¹ Some very valuable remarks on this point occur in Rose's *Commission and Duties of the Clergy*, p. 13, with note.

elevation of the one ordinance of God, and depreciation of the other, and by the mind of man then rushing violently from one extreme to the opposite, that there should be either a supposed opposition between the two, or a doubt as to the functions of each, and the order in which they should be exercised ; that either the teaching of the Church should be separated from the use and study of the sacred oracles of God, or that the Scriptures should be presented to convey the truth, without the aid and introductory teaching of the Church. And yet it is the latter method that has been so largely and so unceasingly pursued by certain advocates of the Bible, as to cause it to be identified with the whole principle adopted by Protestants for propagating the truth.¹ And the sacred Scriptures have by millions been dispersed in foreign lands among the uninitiated, the uncatechized, nay the very heathen,

¹ Thus Dr. Wiseman, (Lect. VI. on the Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church, p. 198,) speaks of "the attempts made to preach the Gospel on the Protestant principle, that the Bible alone is sufficient ;" and quotes General Hislop, as stating that "these missionaries think that this distribution of the Gospels in Chinese, Sanscrit, &c. is sufficient to obtain their purpose." Again he writes, (p. 206,) "If the distribution of the Bible be the appointed way of conversion," &c. ; representing, as he conceives, the Protestant method. See also *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, vol. ii. p. 354. It need hardly be added, that no such principle is recognised by the Church of England.

How entirely, however, this *is* the principle of some Protestants, may be judged from the following astounding sentence : "China is open to the distribution of books ; the myriads inhabiting the maritime provinces are ready to receive the word of life, *and the lever that shall move this moral world is undoubtedly—metal-type printing !*"—Medhurst's China, p. 575.

and those of the baser sort,¹ as if they carried with them a kind of sacramental efficacy to unscale the eyes, and enlighten the hearts of those who read the deep and wonderful oracles of God; as if no preparatory teaching were needful for apprehending them; as if the word of God, which is compared to seed cast into the ground, were certainly the written, and not the preached word; as if there were no danger in leaving unlearned souls unwarned, to profane and jeer at the revelations of the Holy Spirit of the Most High.

But, in truth, how is it? How do we learn, even from the very Scriptures themselves, not only respecting the method there pointed out by the mind of the Spirit for extending the Gospel, but respecting that actually employed by the inspired servants of our Lord? Where is there any blessing promised on the distribution of the word of God? Without denying the *possibility* of any one, however plunged in ignorance, yet if stirred by the Spirit of God to search the living word, being able by the same Spirit to gather out the saving truths of salvation; still neither is this the way in which provision was made for dispensing the Gospel to the world, nor has it any scriptural or reasonable probability in favour of its success. Surely in trusting to this, we must be shutting our eyes to the moral hindrances, frequently the intellectual difficulties, that beset the

¹ See *China and its Prospects*, by Medhurst, pp. 395, 409, 450.

avenues by which truth can enter in, and take possession of the soul; and be relying on some miraculous interposition to give success to our intentions. By what means was the Gospel appointed to be propagated, and how in fact *was* it propagated? By preaching: living witnesses went forth, and besought, and pleaded, and warned, and suffered. They showed it was a real thing that had possessed their own souls, that made them no longer dear to their own selves, and could fill them, even to self-forgetfulness, with the burning zeal of bringing others to Christ. Christian men preached, and resisted unto blood; and heathen men saw, and heard, and believed. Christ's servants came as ambassadors with a message; they came to draw men together into a new society, under one Head, not merely through a mental acquiescence in certain doctrines, but by a real union with the incarnate and invisible God, through visible ordinances, imparted on the reception of that holy Faith which they were commissioned to preach. To this method all historical records of the propagation of the Gospel bear witness, and it is illustrated by the well-known and striking passage of Irenæus, who wrote, that "many natives of barbarians, without paper and ink, had, through the Holy Spirit, the words of salvation written in their hearts."¹

Moreover, various considerations would lead us to the conclusion, that the perfect exhibition of the

¹ Adv. Hæres. III. cap. iv.

truth of God as contained in the holy Scriptures, was preceded by initiatory, and probably more formal instruction. Indications of this in the Scriptures themselves are not wanting, in the “faithful sayings,” and “traditions,” of which the converts were reminded, and which, in the latter instance¹ at least, were represented as a concurrent mode of instruction with the epistle which the Apostle was then writing. Some creed or summary was undoubtedly used as the test of a correct faith; which was professed by the candidates of Holy Baptism, and which existed before the Scriptures were completed.²

And this supposition is further borne out by the very structure of the sacred writings themselves, especially of the Epistles, which were actually addressed, and bear the mark of being adapted to those who had already been instructed in the prin-

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 15.

² “Therefore the Church had a summary and symbol of Christianity, as I said before, about twelve years *before any book of the New Testament was written*, and about sixty-six before the whole was written; and this of God’s own making; and which was even agreed on when many books of the New Testament were not yet agreed on.”—Baxter’s Catholic Theology, Introduction, 1675, fol. See Wordsworth’s Institutes, vol. i. p. 272.

He refers to the Appendix to his Reformed Pastor, for authorities for the agreement of the ancient Creeds “ever professed at baptism from their (the Apostles’) days.”

In his Catechizing of Families, is the following: “And infallible tradition assures us, that accordingly, ever since the Apostles’ days, before any adults were baptized, they were catechized, and brought to understand and profess these same articles of faith.”—Christ. Inst. vol. i. 271.

ciples of the Christian faith. They are composed in an unsystematic manner, especially ill-suited to minds unacquainted with the outlines of that doctrine which they treat of; fundamental tenets and inferences are mixed together; and many portions of them are designed to supplement, or correct, or limit what had been before communicated. Nor were the sacred writings intended to supersede, even afterwards, other concurrent and authoritative teaching; since, at a later period, when the apostolic Epistles were nearly all composed, and were probably in circulation, a succession of ministers was still provided for the very purpose of "teaching."¹

And the facts recorded in holy Scripture tend to confirm what is here maintained; as when Philip was sent to instruct the Ethiopian, even while studying those very Scriptures which, when understood, were "able to make" him "wise unto salvation." The Bereans are praised for searching the oracles of God, but it was *after they had been instructed*, and in order "to see whether these things were so;" it was to *prove*, not originally to *find out*, the truth. And, in reality, this process is only in accordance with the method pursued in the communication of all knowledge; in imparting which, a teacher, speaking with authority, and claiming the confidence of the instructed, is a condition upon which alone it can be received.

¹ As appears from the First Epistle to Timothy.

And, moreover, is not the process of instruction that of first communicating the general principles, and then testing these principles by an appeal to facts and experience, and thus illustrating and applying them? So is it with religious teaching. We may recognise in the creeds, the summary and principles of the faith to be first imparted—milk provided for babes; we may recognise in the Scriptures the wider field of facts and experience in which those principles are tested, explained, exemplified, drawn out into rules, and proved; and urged upon the belief of the Christian with every variety of illustration, and touching instance, and appeal to the affections. And in the Church we may recognise such a teacher as is needed to communicate these first principles; to stand by and remove difficulties; to satisfy inquiries, and solve doubts; to speak with authoritative voice, as commissioned to teach, and so awaken and engage the faith of the instructed, until afterwards, when “the senses are exercised to discern both good and evil,” they are able to “prove all things,” and “hold fast that which is good.”

Thus, then, we may conclude, that in the Church sending her children, preaching by them the received faith, appealing to the written word as a record of the truth and a proof of her teaching, gathering men into the fold of Christ, and rearing them by her discipline, are contained the appointed means entrusted to man for the extension of the

Gospel.¹ Surely the very failure² that has attended the mere dispersion of the sacred Scriptures among heathen nations, might satisfy us that it was not designed that the Gospel should thus win its triumphs. The causes of the eagerness which has sometimes been evinced by natives of pagan countries along the coasts and rivers of India and China, and the Asiatic isles, to obtain the sacred volume, cannot be traced to a thirst for the word of life, but to the secular purposes, the unhallowed uses, to which the holy word of God, left in their hands, has been turned, and which are absolutely shocking to any Christian feeling.³

But view this great gift of God in connexion with the system in which it was designed to discharge its special office, and how wonderful a means is ordained to meet all the wants of man,—

¹ Waterland, (Tract on Justification, Works, vol. ix. p. 435,) speaking of the Christian covenant, says, "According to the natural order of precedency, the authorized minister is *first* in consideration; (Rom. x. 13—15; Tit. i. 3,) the word next; then hearing and believing; after that, baptism, and therein the first solemn reception of justification."—Cited by Rose, Commission, &c. p. 14.

² See Lect. VI. It is to be observed that, in the cases there mentioned, some missionaries were engaged in preaching besides, so that even the few conversions that occurred cannot be attributed to the dispersion of the Scriptures alone.

³ Even Mr. Medhurst says that "the anxiety to obtain books must not in the least be ascribed to any knowledge of, or relish for their contents," p. 403. Painful instances of the profanation of the word of God by indiscriminate distribution, are given in a note to Dr. Wiseman's Lect. VI. *ut supra*; and in Rev. W. J. Humphrey's Letter to Rev. H. Cottrill, at Madras, in the Correspondence lately published by the former gentleman.

to affect, and call out and sanctify his whole nature, moral and intellectual. It is not ordinarily through the understanding that religious faith gains an entrance into the soul; it may be weakened, indeed, and it may be confirmed through the intellect, but not newly awakened. It is commonly through the moral affections and sympathies that faith is first kindled; and thus “with the heart man believeth unto righteousness.” It would seem that previous culture of the moral nature is needful for the full exercise, certainly for the right direction and co-operation, of all the other faculties; and we may notice how entirely in accordance with this law it is, that in the orderings of God so large a period has been allotted, in the commencement of man’s life, to childhood, which is the especial season for moral training, and this in connexion with the closest sympathies of our nature; in preparation, as it were, for the other faculties, as they expand, to discharge their allotted functions powerfully and harmoniously. And in the same way it is, that the Church provides for the education of her children, not merely laying before them the truth, however testified to and supported by an irresistible weight of evidence; but presenting herself as a teacher, bearing with her a personality, and addressing herself to the wants and weaknesses, and the finer affections of man’s nature; thus winning the confidence of those whom she would lead to salvation, by the exhibition of goodness, long-suffering, and

patience ; offering to guide and protect, and bring near to God in that society which He has planted upon earth ; and then instructing and enlightening the mind by knowledge, and by opening before it the whole counsel of God.

Thus, through the powerful inworking of God's Holy Spirit, the "new man" is "put on," "created in righteousness and true holiness," and "renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created him."

Nor are the means thus provided for extending the kingdom of God upon earth less adapted to meet and form the character of man in that twofold estate in which he is placed as an individual and as a social being. It was to reveal to him his true condition, and to perfect him in each of these respects, that the Son of God became man. We may recognise a provision made for impressing upon each Christian soul its own personal responsibility before God ; the sense that it stands alone in His sight ; that not a mere blind acquiescence in authority, but a conscious and reasonable conviction of duty, is the groundwork of obedience to Him ;—we recognise the means of bringing it, as it were, before its Maker, to hear His voice, and read those words by which it must be ruled now, and judged hereafter,—in the free use of the holy Scriptures, and in the charge to study and meditate upon them,—which belonged not to the latter days of the Church alone, but marked the earlier progress of

the Gospel, when, as is testified by St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine,¹ the inspired writings were translated into the native tongue of almost every people among whom the Church was propagated.

And if man were only an individual,—did not the perfection of his moral nature materially depend on his being bound together with his fellow-men, and with God Himself in “one body and one Spirit,”—this would be enough. But it is necessary for the correction of his passions, for the restraint of an unruly will, for calling forth the higher feelings of dutifulness and reverence, for the exercise of the charities of life, that he should be joined to a body, and placed under authority. And this Body God has provided, in which a new brotherhood is created, not based upon the calculation of mutual benefit, but upon that relation into which mankind are brought one with another and with God in Christ.

Within that Body the true social life of man is called out. The sympathies that form the bond of domestic and national existence receive a larger expansion; and gather within their circle all who share in that nature which God has redeemed, and

¹ St. Chrysostom, Hom. II. in Johann. vol. viii. p. 10. Edit. Bened. καὶ Σύροι, καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ Ἰνδοὶ, καὶ Πέρσαι, καὶ Αἰθίοπες, καὶ μυρία ἕτερα ἔθνη εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν μεταβάλλοντες γλῶτταν τὰ παρὰ τούτου (sc. S. Johann.) εἰσαχθέντα, ἔμαθον ἄνθρωποι βάρβαροι φιλοσοφεῖν.

St. Augustine de Doctr. Christ. lib. ii. sect. 6. “Ex quo factum est ut etiam Scriptura divina, qua tantis morbis humanarum voluntatum subvenitur, ab una lingua profecta, qua opportunè potuit per orbem terrarum disseminari, per varias interpretum linguas longè latèque diffusa innotesceret gentibus ad salutem.”

sanctified, and glorified in Himself, by bearing it. Within it, all those inequalities of life and circumstances which foster so largely the pride, and discontent, and envy, and all the evil passions of the heart, are made to disappear; for human distinctions find no place in that spiritual kingdom, in which the weak things are chosen before the strong, “where there is neither Greek nor Jew, . . . Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all.”

And if such be the plan by which God has ordained that the Gospel should be spread abroad; if to the Church is committed the solemn charge of converting the nations, and presenting them to her Lord and Master; if she alone seems endowed with the power of grappling with human nature; and if past experience has shown that in her, as its home and sanctuary, the Gospel was preserved, and borne over that deluge of barbarism which overspread Europe, and uprooted every thing beside in its course;—we must expect that by the same agency alone can the heathen world be gained over to the Redeemer.

We cannot expect God’s blessing in so great a work to rest on desultory and unauthorized methods, to which the promise neither of success nor perpetuity is engaged.

And shall it be said that, by thus insisting upon the one appointed means for doing the work of God on earth, which is indeed His Church, we tend to paralyze individual exertion, or to damp the

zeal of many ? Surely this result can never follow. It never has been so, whenever a sense of duty has been appealed to by an authority whose claim to demand it has been recognised. Those have not commonly been the most slow to make sacrifice of themselves, and to devote their energies to a great end, who have been summoned to do so by a power which has been to them as the voice of God. Nay, while God's Spirit dwells in the hearts of His people, there will be many who need nothing more to call forth the free surrender of themselves to His service, than the certainty of being right and in the way of duty ; and who will have all their energy quickened thereby. For the secret of that moral strength, that composure, and confidence, which ever belongs to obedience, lies in the consciousness that we are not following our own will, but the will of God, however made known to us. It is free from distraction, for its way is clear ; it can bear reverse or disappointment, for it looks not to success for the warranty of its acting. And if this spirit be appealed to, individual exertion will not be wanting. The trial has not been made. Though the Church has indeed pleaded and exhorted, yet she has not used a parent's right, and demanded the service of her children on the ground of that loyalty and obedience which are her due. And we, on our part, have lost too much a sense of the allegiance we owe to her ; we have not looked to her for guidance, nor shown our readiness to obey ; we have been acting

as individuals, and therefore the work has languished in our hands. But let the ancient spirit of faith revive, and surely the Church, recognised in her true character, will be powerful again, as she ever has been, in enlisting zeal, and drawing forth self-sacrifice in her service—the service of Christ, and for the salvation of souls; and she will be seen going forth irresistible in her beauty and might, and bringing, by the power of Divine truth, all nations into subjection to her Lord and Saviour.

LECTURE IV.

THE EXTENSION OF THE GOSPEL BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

PSALM LXXII. 9, 10.

THEY THAT DWELL IN THE WILDERNESS SHALL BOW BEFORE HIM;
AND HIS ENEMIES SHALL LICK THE DUST. THE KINGS OF TARSHISH
AND OF THE ISLES SHALL BRING PRESENTS: THE KINGS OF SHEBA
AND SEBA SHALL OFFER GIFTS.

THE purpose of the last Lecture was to elicit from reasonable probability, from the revealed will of God, and from apostolic practice, those general principles by which the effort to extend the Gospel of Christ should be guided. These principles, and the facts in which they are involved, are as follows:—That the Church, as the visible institution of Christ, is the divinely ordained instrument for the conversion of the world;—That Christianity was propagated, in the apostolic age, through the enlargement of the Church, either by additions from without, or by the expansion of it from within;—That it belongs to *commissioned* teachers to preach the word of life to the heathen, and that the

authority to *send* is derived from the Lord Himself to those who bear apostolic rule in His Church ;—That the method whereby the conversion of unbelievers was effected was not the mere distribution of the written word, to which the promise of success in this work is not engaged,¹ but the preaching of the Gospel by living witnesses ;—And, lastly, that the place held by the holy Scriptures in the economy of instructing the heathen mind, is that of proving and confirming the previous elementary teaching of the Church, conveyed through its formularies, and the oral expositions of its messengers.

Such being the groundwork on which the theory of missions is built, I proceed now to a review of the progress of the Gospel throughout the world, in reference, more or less directly, to the principles here laid down ; and to ascertain the various secondary means that have been used in securing the success that has been achieved. Let it be premised, however, that these secondary means have not been employed with any uniform or systematic precision, but have varied with the varying condition of Christianity, and the circumstances under which it has been extended ; and, further, that neither externally has the Church advanced with unreceding step, nor internally has it preserved an

¹ “ And how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard ? and how shall they hear without a preacher ? and how shall they preach except they be sent ? ” —Rom. x. 14, 15.

unchanging character, but has won its way irregularly and imperfectly, in various degrees, through unlooked-for contingencies, sometimes by doubtful expedients, and after many reverses ; in a word, by that laborious process to which all moral advancement is subject, as being the product of a conflict between the powers of light and darkness, and as dependent on human instrumentality.

The present review, as far as it can be taken in a single lecture, will embrace the ages which preceded that great movement, intellectual, political, and religious, which exhibited itself in the sixteenth century. It is felt that a period of vast extent is embraced ; and of course nothing more can be done than to sketch the outline of the empire of the Church, as it contracted or expanded its limits, and then to note the various means by which its sway was acquired and retained. It is felt, also, that the character of this period is as diversified as it is vast ; that, during it, the nations of Europe and of the East presented every form of political existence, between well-compacted government and complete social disorganization ; and that the human mind passed through every stage, from the highest intellectual culture to the most illiterate barbarism ; so that, during these ages, we witness the Church in conflict with every opposition which the powers of the world could set in array against it, to check its progress ; and hence, assuming different aspects at different periods,

varying with the character of the nation, or the degree of civilization with which it was brought into contact. Yet the struggles which it sustained, while they put it to the severest test, only served to draw forth its resources, and prove its power to cope with human nature under every form, to subdue, and mould it anew, to reorganise society, infuse into it fresh life, and carry it onward through each stage of its advancement.

In taking such a glance at these ages as is here proposed, it will be convenient to divide them into two portions, placing the line of separation at the decree of Theodosius, which, at the close of the fourth century, banished Paganism from the Roman empire.¹ And, in truth, this forms a natural division in treating of the propagation of the faith; since it was not till after that event that missionary efforts, properly so called, may be said to have commenced; while the condition of the Church, and of the nations among whom she preached, and the means employed for their conversion, became then altogether different from what they had been before Christianity took permanent possession of the throne of the Cæsars. The plan, then, will be, to trace out the gradual extension of the Gospel during these two periods, and then to consider the various means by which its successes were acquired, and the lessons which may be derived from the review.

¹ A. D. 392. Cod. Theod. c. xii. Baron. Annal. vol. viii. p. 115.

The first four centuries have commonly been considered those in which the Gospel made its most rapid and most extended conquests. It has been thought that, during them, the Church of Christ was carried forward by the supernatural impulse which it received on the day of Pentecost, and of which the last vibrations were felt, and expired at the verge of that period ;—that afterwards, if it was not wholly arrested in its course, yet it expanded itself further only languidly and slowly, by natural or doubtful means, and that for centuries it lost all its pristine vigour and purity. There is perhaps just enough of truth in such a statement to account for the general impression ; but certainly as regards the territorial extension of the Church, it is far from correct. For history would not lead us to conclude, either that the actual boundaries of the Church continued progressively to enlarge themselves during the first four centuries, or that, at the close of them, the tide of its rising waters was stayed by any barrier, or any cessation of the invisible power that had first set them in motion. That it did indeed increase and multiply, according to the blessing bestowed upon it, so as to gather constantly fresh children into its bosom, is most true ; not however, commonly, by pushing its lines further into the domains of darkness, but rather by filling up and occupying more completely the ground already acquired. If we may give credit to the traditions that have been preserved of the

apostolic labours,¹ we may believe that, on the death of the last of the Apostles, the preaching of the Gospel had reached nearly the full extent of the territory which was possessed for the first four centuries. Intimations of this occur in the Epistles; and we should be led to suppose it probable, from the fact, that, at the period last named, the knowledge of the Gospel appears to have extended very little beyond the limits of the Roman empire. And that, *within* those limits, the seeds of divine truth should have been very early and widely scattered, is what we might reasonably expect, from the constant communication that was kept up between one part of the empire and another,—from the connexion of the Jews dispersed throughout all the world with Jerusalem,—from the intercourse which bound the distant colonies and provinces of Rome to the capital and the metropolitan cities, such as Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, and Corinth, in which the first preachers of the Gospel took up their abode, where they

¹ Euseb. H. E. iii. 1. For the labours of each of the Apostles, see a summary in Fabr. *Lux Evang.* cap. v. pp. 95—114. The fact of St. Peter having preached at Babylon in Assyria (1 Ep. v. 13), though a point of much discussion in which controversy has mixed itself, is maintained by good authority. See Lardner, XVII. p. 239. Little doubt can exist that the Gospel was carried to that district in the first century. Respecting the visit of St. Paul to Spain, Prof. Burton (*Eccles. Hist.* i. [281]) quotes Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Jerome, in favour of the Apostle having preached there; and so these two points may be considered the limits, in the east and west, which the Gospel reached in the apostolic age.

established the centre points of their system, and from whence they penetrated into the surrounding districts. Very early, then, in most of the larger cities throughout the Roman dominions, and even in the frontier garrisons that skirted the territory of the barbarians, the Cross had been set up ; and though the number of those who embraced the faith of Him who had died thereon was but small, still *there* the Gospel had been “preached *for a witness* ;” and we need not hesitate to give a literal meaning to the words of the Apostle, when he said, “Their sound went into all the earth, their words unto the ends of the world.”¹ During the three centuries that followed the apostolic age, the Gospel was still confined within nearly the same limits which it reached at first, viz. Britain, the Rhine, the Danube, the Caspian Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the bounds of proconsular Africa ; and those who succeeded the Apostles were rather engaged in assailing the idolatry with which they were immediately confronted in defending the faith, witnessing unto the death a good confession, and increasing and consolidating the churches already planted, than in penetrating into regions yet unexplored.

But at the close of the fourth century a new order of things arose for the Church,—fresh labours and trials, widely different from those in which it had hitherto been engaged. The Roman

¹ Rom. x. 18.

empire was now shaking and crumbling from its inherent social decay, and from the assaults of the northern tribes, which gathered, like birds of prey, round the dying body. Hitherto the Gospel had contended with civilization, with a popular and systematized religion, with intellect, with well-ordered government; it had made its way passively, by gradually spreading its influence through the mass in which it had been hid to leaven it; for a time, too, it had delayed the breaking up of the Roman polity by the new life it had infused into the hearts of man, and the fresh bonds of union which it had created. But now the Church looked out, and saw lawless force coming down as a flood, threatening to bear away before it all law and civilization, and the very landmark of social existence,—and it had to arm itself for the conflict. Civilized paganism had fallen before the power of the Christian faith: its philosophy and mythology had been searched and exposed by the burning light of the truth, and had melted away as under some powerful solvent; but now there was altogether a different enemy which the Church had to meet, in an unlettered barbarism; marked by characteristic virtues,¹ indeed, but also by untamed passions; boasting itself in its wild independence, unrestrained by any fixed law or social order, and finding only a stimulant to deeds of lawless enterprise and rapine in the savage idolatry under which

¹ Salvian de Gub. Dei, p. 261. See Lect. II. Appendix, No. IV.

the powers of nature were adored. For two centuries, countless hordes were poured forth from the central plains of Asia; one after the other they took up their position in the most fertile countries of Europe, and enclosed within them the Church of God, which, stripped now of the worldly defence by which it has been strengthened in its later conquests over Roman paganism, was thrown upon its inherent vital energy and spiritual resources. Worldly power had, indeed, failed to arrest the progress of the impetuous hosts; and it was a new sight for mankind to gaze on, to see the Church of God, armed only by the force of truth and the invisible presence of the Most High, brought into close contact with the savage wildness of human nature. The world seemed fallen back into the days of its infancy; and in such a field it is that we have to watch the progress of the Gospel softening, humanizing, converting, civilizing. Every form of uncivilized life, of savage habit, of deep-seated prejudice, of victorious insolence, was brought before it, and, by turns, in the course of succeeding ages, was controlled and brought into subjection. By what means this wonderful regeneration, under the combined providence and grace of God, was effected, will be noted in its place.

At present I would merely note the *direction* in which the Church of Christ enlarged itself. For it is altogether a partial view, to conceive that its expansion was thenceforth stayed. On the con-

trary, it seems rather to have taken to itself a more vigorous resolve, and to have risen, as if conscious of its power, to invade the dark masses of ignorance and violence that encompassed it. Cheerless, indeed, was the commencement of the seventh century, and gloomy the scene on which the first Gregory closed his eyes;¹ the barbarous hosts still pressing the Roman empire on the north, and the Arabian impostor breaking forth from his sultry sands, as the avenger of the Lord, scattering the flock from field to field, and obliterating the once flourishing churches in the East, and along the African coast. And yet at that very time it was that a spirit of missionary enterprise arose, and chiefly from the North; from the monasteries of Great Britain and Ireland, men went forth glowing with the desire of bringing the Gothic tribes within the fold of Christ. It seems as if a special impulse was imparted to them; for ceaselessly, we are told, in the ear of one of the earliest adventurers, St. Columban, sounded the words of our blessed Saviour, "If any man will come after me, let

¹ In the general misery inflicted by the inroads of the barbarians, he recognised the signs of the approaching end. Thus, in one of his letters, (lib. vii. ep. xxvii.) he says, "*De vicinis urbibus strages nobis mortalitatis quotidie nuncupantur. Africa autem qualiter mortalitate et languoribus vastatur, quanto viciniore estis, tanto credo quod subtilius cognovistis. De oriente vero qui veniunt graviores desolationes nunciant. In his itaque omnibus, quia, appropinquante fine mundi, generalem percussionem esse cognoscimus, affligi nimis de propriis molestiis non debemus.*"—*Vita S. Greg. Mag. Acta Sanct. Sæc. Prim.* p. 469.

him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me,"¹ Along the banks of the Rhine, in the Black Forest, in Bavaria, and Thuringia, the Church extended itself² by the labours of men thus devoted; among whom shine the names of Fridolin, St. Gall, Rupert, St. Eustasius, Willibrord, and, above all, St. Boniface, as apostles of the German nations.³

And thus, from the end of the sixth to the ninth century, the progress of the Gospel continued, with varied success, among the Gothic tribes. After that period, in the tenth century, the field of missionary labour extended itself still further towards the East. Beyond the limits already named, amid the barren table-lands of Sclavonia and Sarmatia, shut in by the Elbe and the Oural mountains, were gathered the wandering tribes distinguished by the name of Slaves, who presented a still more hopeless task to Christian zeal. Uncontrolled by any government or law, deeming even the formation of villages an infringement of liberty,⁴ guided only by traditionary custom, they were dispersed throughout the forests and plains of that wide district, clustered in family groups, with no unity either of national existence, or of habit, or even of religion. A vague superstition, consisting of a rude worship

¹ Blumhardt, *Etablissement du Christianisme*, ii. p. 318. No reference is given. The exact circumstance, as related by Blumhardt, is not in the life of St. Columban, by Jonas, his pupil, contained in Surius, vol. vi. Something similar is, however, mentioned in pp. 530 and 531.

² Appendix, No. XV.

³ Ibid. No. XVI.

⁴ Blumhardt, *Etabl. du Christianisme*, iv. pp. 11, 15.

of Nature's powers, with stated sacrifices, and the dualistic notion of the East, derived from contact with the Scythian tribes,¹ possessed their minds with a sense of religious awe ; but, throughout the whole race, even the idea of the immortality of the soul had become extinct.² One social virtue, however, had the force of law amongst them ; and the obligation to hospitality afforded an opening for the strangers of the West to gain an entrance among these otherwise unapproachable hordes.³ Partly and in the first instance, from the Greek Church, by the two apostles of Poland and Prussia, Cyril and Methodius ;⁴ afterwards and more perfectly, by emissaries from the Latin Church ; in various ways, and at various intervals, the Gospel was propagated in these countries from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries ; and during the same period, by missionaries chiefly from the monastery of Neuf-Corbic on the banks of the Weser, and from the British Isles, the territories of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden⁵ were

¹ Blumhardt, *Etabl. du Christianisme*, iv. p. 6.

² *Ibid.* p. 8.

³ *Ibid.* p. 15.

⁴ In the ninth century.

⁵ Ansehar, the apostle of Denmark and Sweden, A. D. 826, and Gislemar, who followed him to Denmark, were sent from Neuf-Corbic. Missionaries were brought by Hakon, king of Norway, into his dominions, (an. 938.) Christianity was not, however, permanently introduced before the reign of Olaf I., who was accompanied from England by John Sigurd, (an. 993.) Olaf II. afterwards requested missionaries from England of Kanute, upon which, Sigfrid (first Bishop of Wexia), Gomkill, and others, were sent into Norway, (an. 1019). The chief source of information on these missions is contained in the *Hist. Eccles. of Adam Bremensis*.

brought within the pale of the Christian Church. And thus, by the end of the thirteenth century, paganism may be said to have been well-nigh banished from the limits of Europe.

By such steps, with a continual yet laborious progress, the Church was planted and took root throughout the European continent; nor except in the Turkish dominions, has it since suffered any permanent reverse, or been despoiled of any portion of its inheritance.

Far different, however, were its fortunes in the East during a portion of the interval that has been thus slightly sketched. For above four centuries from its first promulgation, the sound of the Gospel appears to have been confined within the Indus,¹ but from that period, a most rapid extension of Christianity, heretical, indeed, yet in its degree influential, ensued, and was followed by as rapid a decline. Led by individual zeal, or dispersed by persecution, or attracted by the enterprise of Arabian commerce,² the Nestorians spread themselves over the plains of Hindostan, Tartary, Mongolia, and China,³ planting churches throughout the wide domain; and for six centuries kept

¹ Appendix, No. XVII.

² Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* tom. iii. p. lxxx. i.; and Böhlen, *Das alte Indien*, p. 381, who cites Cosmas Indicopleustes (himself a Nestorian) as saying, that he found a Christian congregation at Taprobane and Malabar in A. D. 530, under a bishop, consecrated in Persia.

³ Assemani, *ut sup.*

possession of the territory. The well-known monument discovered in the seventeenth century, by the Jesuits in China,¹ and the intercourse between Alexander III. and the famous Prester John, in the twelfth century,² indicate the wide-spread influence which Christianity possessed, externally at least, over the nations of Eastern Asia.³ But neither did the earlier labours of the Nestorians, nor those of the Latin Church directed to the same quarter,⁴ secure a lasting triumph. It is in melancholy contrast with the vigorous life wherewith the Church of the West resisted and subdued its barbarian invaders, that we find the Eastern Churches gradually fade away and finally disappear before the invasions of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane. As

¹ An account of this monument found in Siganfu, A.D. 1625, and recording the establishment of Christianity in China between A.D. 636 and 781, is given in Assemani, p. cxxxviii; and its genuineness discussed in Mosheim, *Hist. Tartar.* p. 9. See Mr. Milman's note, *Gibbon*, viii. p. 347. It should be added that Böhlen disputes the genuineness of this record; but the alternative of supposing that the Jesuits forged a document, setting forth Nestorian doctrines and enterprise, is too improbable to be readily adopted.

² Assemani, p. D. who quotes from the original letter in Pagi, dated 1177.

³ "The extent to which Nestorianism prevailed among the Tartar tribes, is one of the most curious questions of Oriental history."—Milman's *Gibbon*, viii. 346, note. Connected with this is the still more interesting question of the influence which it had on the Buddhism or Lamaism of those districts, and will be alluded to in *Lect. VIII.*

⁴ The first of these missions from the Roman Church was established by Nicolas III. in 1278. Monte Corvino and his companions entered Tartary in 1289. Assem. p. dxxvii.

though they had never taken a firm root in the soil, they were swept away by the storm which had before in the same way desolated the fairest portions of Western Asia and Africa, and Christianity was again driven in upon its centre in Europe; yet surely only to await the time when the tide will again roll back with more powerful effect upon those mighty and imposing empires.

Such a sketch, though necessarily general, may suffice to delineate the character of that missionary field in which Christianity made its territorial advance on the wastes of Paganism, during fifteen centuries. And we pass at once to a more important and interesting review, when we proceed to consider the various methods by which it was extended, by what characteristics its expansion was marked, by what means it was maintained.

Bearing in mind the division of the periods before observed, we shall have to compare, and in some points to contrast, the one with the other. For the different forms of Paganism which they severally presented, demanded of the Church the employment of different instruments and modes of action in order to grapple with them. And thus its office in these successive periods may seem to have been represented in the commission given in our blessed Saviour's parable to the servants sent to bring guests into the supper of their Lord; some it has simply "bidden," others it has

“brought in,” some it has, as it were, “compelled to come in.”¹

I. Consider then the first period of its expansion. It has been already remarked, that, after the first century, the labours of those commissioned to penetrate distant lands with the Gospel, were for a time comparatively suspended. And this will account for the very scanty records that are left us of the propagation of the Gospel among heathen nations during that period. Still, within the Roman dominions, vast accessions were constantly gained to the Church, and we may discover many causes and means, though some of them were only incidental or indirect, to which the extension of the Faith may be attributed.

1. It was but an incidental, though providential, cause of the advance of the Gospel, that the very circumstances of the times, especially towards the close of the empire of the West, secretly yet powerfully drew the minds of men to the reception of revealed truth. The old pagan religion was exhausted; it had sought alliance with philosophy, and been maintained by force, but it was felt to have no power even over the mass. Times of trouble were hastening on, and various signs gave no uncertain warning of the breaking up of the empire. The vicious lives of a long train of emperors, the consequent general corruption that prevailed,

¹ Luke xiv. 16—23. This application of the parable is made in Thomas à Jesu, *De Proc. Salut. omn. Gent.* p. 123.

and the threatening rumours of war on the frontier, forced the more serious to reflect and look for some refuge from the coming storm. And nothing in the civil state of the empire offered any ground of repose, or trust, or union, or stability. The Church alone possessed all these.¹ There men were beheld bound together by common interests and visible unity, elevated by a strong faith, strengthened by a mysterious power, acting with all the devotion of youth, and suffering for religion with a spirit resembling the patriotism of the days of the republic; and thither the thoughtful and the earnest-minded were naturally drawn to find their support and peace.

2. Among the indirect means by which the seed of the Divine word was scattered abroad, must be reckoned the persecutions which drove the Christians, sometimes in banishment, sometimes in retreat, among the tribes that lay upon the frontier. In the same manner, among the colonists that settled in distant parts, or among the legions that were garrisoned on the border of the empire, or among the captives² who were carried away in the predatory incursions of the Goths, were found some of the faithful, who bore with them, and not unfre-

¹ A remark to this effect occurs in Blunhardt, vol. i. p. 211.

² Among the captives from Cappadocia, in the reign of Valerian, were the progenitors of Ulphilas, afterwards consecrated first bishop of the Goths by Eusebius and other bishops. Philostorg. H. E. lib. ii. cap. v. The Gospel was introduced into Georgia in the same way. Rufinus, p. 226. See Gibbon, vol. iii. p. 528.

quently communicated to their captors, the knowledge of Christianity.

3. At the same time, there were more direct influences in operation to win over the unconverted. The supernatural endowments of the Church, (though less effectual in convincing the unbeliever than is commonly supposed,) were yet powerful in arresting the attention of the beholder, and in nerving the faith and patience of the converted. Others were won by the moral miracles of enduring fortitude and patient suffering, wherewith the Christians cheerfully witnessed unto the death, for the name of the Lord Jesus. Then, again, in an age and among a people of philosophy, another means of recommending the faith, or at least of removing obstacles from its progress, was provided in the Apologies which, from time to time, vindicated the tenets and the conduct of Christians, and in the treatises in which the arguments, either of the scoffing or the philosophizing assailant of Christianity, were met and refuted.

So that generally, in reference to this period, we are led to remark, first, that after the age of the Apostles, the advance of the Gospel was effected, not by a wider aggression upon the heathen world, but by organizing, strengthening, and gradually enlarging the Churches already planted; and secondly, that in its conflict with civilization of the highest class, and with well-compacted government, the position of the Church was mainly

defensive. It held its ground, and spoke, when challenged, with no faltering voice. It stood, and “gave place, no, not for an hour,” but was persecuted and suffered, and rejoiced to “bear about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus.” Like Israel of old, it was content to “stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord ;” and thus it gained its moral triumphs and final supremacy.

4. And yet some notices are not wanting of a direct advance upon nations among whom the Lord Jesus had not been named, and of the means whereby fresh converts were added to the Church. Pantænus was sent to bear the Gospel among the Indians ; Frumentius was commissioned by Athanasius to preach to the Ethiopians ; missionaries and bishops were from time to time appointed among the Goths, Scythians, and Saracens.¹ Evangelists, again, were licensed and sent from Churches already settled, to declare the word of life to the neighbouring pagans, and to prepare the ground for pastors, or a fixed and local ministry, being placed among them.² Further, in the provision of catechists, we discover another appointment for gathering the contiguous heathen into the fold of Christ. Teachers of the priestly order were commissioned to this particular office.³ Catechisms

¹ For a fuller statement respecting these events, see Lect. III. Appendix, No. XII.

² See the passage of Eusebius quoted Lect. III. Appendix, No. XIII.

³ Bingham's *Antiq. b. iii. ch. x. sect. 1.* See Dodwell's *Dissertat.*

were compiled for the use of the catechumens,¹ who, together with the hearers, were admitted to attend sermons;² a special part of the church was allotted to them,³ and prayers were offered for their illumination.⁴ Buildings adjoining the churches were set apart for the reception and instruction of the newly converted;⁵ and a fixed course of discipline was appointed for them preparatory to their reception to holy baptism.⁶ Then, again, in the care taken that no clergy should be ordained without a local charge;⁷ in the provision, that the bishop should be present at the founding of a fresh church;⁸ in the subordination of bishops of distant parts to the metropolitan see;⁹ in all these things we may certainly recognise thus much,—that the gathering in of the heathen was a care of the early Church; that it was conducted on a fixed system, and

Cyprian. *De Presbyteris Doctoribus*. “His” (sc. Catechumenis) writes Thomas à Jesu, “Presbyter probatæ vitæ et doctrinæ constituatur Catechista.”—P. 872.

¹ Bingham, b. x. ch. i. sect. 6.

² Palmer's *Orig. Liturg.* vol. ii. p. 66.

³ Bingham, b. viii. ch. iv. sect. 3.

⁴ Palmer, *ut sup.* likewise Chrysost. *Hom. II. in 2 Cor.* ch. i.

⁵ Thomas à Jesu, *De Proct. Salut. omn. Gent.* p. 872, who quotes S. Clem. (Rom.) *Recognit. lib. ii. in fin.* (apud Cotelerii, *Patr. Apost. tom. i.* p. 524.) Also S. Basil, *Serm. I. de Bapt.* p. 2. See Bingham's *Antiquit. b. viii. ch. vii. sect. 12.*

⁶ Bingham, b. x. ch. ii.

⁷ Bingham, b. iv. ch. vi. sect. 2.

⁸ Bingham, b. viii. ch. ix. sect. 5.

⁹ *Concil. Chalcedon, Can. xxviii.* Several of the points in the above page are noticed by Bp. Middleton, in his *Charge at Calcutta.* (Sermons, p. 219.)

ever in subjection to the idea of the divinely-appointed authority of the one body and Church of Christ.

II. And now, in quitting this period, and passing to a review of the secondary means by which the extension of the Gospel was effected during the dreary ages of darkness, and violence, and disorganization that succeeded, an entirely new field opens to our contemplation. The period of miraculous interposition is passing away; the seed of the kingdom of God has become a tree; and the Gospel is left now to spread itself by such methods as the providence of God may offer, or Christian wisdom suggest. The conflict with civilization and organized society had ceased, and the conflict was now begun with barbarism and social disorder. The world was almost broken up into its primæval elements; and there was one power alone on earth able to reassemble the shapeless masses, and reduce them into order and harmony. The great work that the Church undertook was to christianize and civilize the barbarian hosts; and it was evident at once, that these were not to be affected either by direct appeals to the intellect, or by exhibitions of meekness and enduring patience, which would only wear the appearance, in their eyes, of weakness and timidity, and excite contempt. The peculiar characteristic of the Germanic tribes was a rude personal inde-

pendence;¹ their virtues were those of the individual; they wholly wanted social order, and those principles on which civil existence depends. On this account we shall perceive, first of all, that the means adopted for their conversion and civilization were aggressive and bold; and, secondly, that they were such as peculiarly to set forth the social life of Christians, controlled by an unseen spiritual power, by which the rude warriors were most likely to be attracted, since it exhibited what they most needed. Hence, together with the sixth century,—that period when thick darkness threatened to extinguish the light of the Gospel,—the first systematic attempt was made by missionaries for the conversion of the Pagans. Sometimes a solitary Christian, harassed by despair, and by the sights that daily met his eyes,² and in the hope of reclaiming some one soul from the power of Satan, would seek a retreat in the clefts of the rock, or on some barren height,³ and draw around

¹ M. Guizot remarks, “Nous devons aux Germains le sentiment énergique de la liberté individuelle, de l’individualité humaine. Or, dans un état d’extrême grossièreté et d’ignorance, ce sentiment, c’est *l’égoïsme* dans toute sa brutalité, dans tout son insociabilité. *Du cinquième au huitième siècle, il en était à ce point parmi les Germains.*”—Cours d’Histoire, Leçon iii. p. 20.

² Thus Honoratus fled from the Paganism which shocked him at home, and founded the convent at Lerins, A. D. 400—420. Vita Honorati. S. Hilarii Op. *ad fin.*

³ Vita S. Martini Turon., à Sulpicio Severo. cap. x. Vita S. Galli, cap. ii. Acta Sanct. Sæc. II. “Ibi oratorium in honorem B. Petri Apostoli construentes, mansiunculas in quibus commanerent, fecerunt. Illisque ibi conversantibus, et ipsum locum exco-

him a small community of men won by his austere sanctity, and lay the rudiments of a future Church. At other times, after the pattern of the first Apostles, twelve men of devoted minds would throw themselves into the forests or plains that bordered the Rhine or Danube;¹ and form a Christian society which grew into a religious house; and from thence commenced that continuous aggression on the hordes of Germany and Sarmatia, which ended in their subjugation to the law and discipline of Christ.

It cannot be denied that one means whereby the minds of the barbarians were affected, was, by dazzling their senses, and working on their imagination. Hence, with this period, the pomp of ceremonial in religion was largely increased; expressive signs and symbols were unsparingly used, and frequently abused; spectacles were multiplied in accommodation to the coarse taste and intellect of the age, which were thereby at least impressed with an idea of power, and a sense of respect for Him in whose honour they were displayed.

Purer, and, as the result proved, far more effectual methods were adopted for the conversion of the heathen, in the introduction amongst them of

lentibus, multi non solum de genere Burgundiorum, sed etiam Francorum, amore vite laudabilis ad ipsos confluunt."

¹ Thus Columban entered Gaul. *Vita Columb.* in *Acta Sanct. Sæc. II.* p. 7. Willibrord among the Frisones, and Rupert in Bavaria, were each accompanied by twelve.—Blumhardt, vol. ii. pp. 404, 426.

the elements of learning and of the practical arts, the reduction of their language to written characters,¹ the translation of the Scriptures into the native tongue, the instruction and training of the young in the habits of civilized life.

And for the instrument by which these were applied,—the most efficacious instrument, because the most systematic, in softening and winning the pagans,—we must refer to the institution of monastic houses and seminaries, which soon rose up wherever an anchorite or missionary fixed his dwelling.²

We are, perhaps, too apt to judge of these institutions by their issue, and by the aspect they wore when, in their decline, they were brought into contact with an increase of knowledge, and under a searching and no friendly inquisition. But it is impossible to overrate the blessed effects, which, under the special guidance of God, they were the means of producing,

¹ It seems, throughout, to have been the peculiar province of missionaries to introduce the seeds of literature among heathen and barbarian nations. Thus, writing was introduced, in the fourth century, among the Armenians, by Isaac, Bishop of Armenia. Ulphilas reduced the language of the Goths to written characters. In the ninth century Cyril did the same among the Bulgarians and Moravians, and gave them a translation of the Scriptures. Xavier commanded Father Henriquez to reduce the Malabar language to a grammar. Life by Dryden, b. iv. p. 228. In later days this same work has been continued, especially in the islands of the south Pacific and in New Zealand.

² Between the years 600 and 700, seventy-three monasteries were founded on the Benedictine rule. Erroul, or Ebrulphus, who preached in Normandy, circ. 596, founded fifteen.—Acta Sanct. Sæc. I. p. 338, and II., *ad fin.* where a list is given.

in keeping alive and diffusing the light of Christian truth, during these ages of ignorance and social disorder. For they presented to the eyes of men the kingdom of Christ, as a visible body and form of society; they exhibited that society held together by a spiritual rule; men's hearts and consciences controlled by an invisible influence, and by faith in an unseen power, which enabled them to overcome themselves, live in obedience and peace, and be active in religious service. They at once asserted and embodied the existence of a spiritual authority¹ apart from, and far above, the reach of temporal power. Within them Christians of more pious and thoughtful hearts sought a home secure from the storms of the world around; mind was brought into contact with mind; all that remained of learning and philosophy found there a sanctuary, and, by being allied to religion, was saved, and became its handmaid in civilizing and converting. The solemn and stated ceremonial, and unceasing round of services, impressed the pagan mind with the reality of unseen things, and formed a powerful contrast with the savage sacrifices offered to those beings whom superstition had invented.

Besides this, the inmates were not mere solitaries; but the numerous brotherhood found their allotted tasks in the practice of all the arts,² the

¹ Guizot, *Civilization of Europe*, p. 157, Transl. Oxford, 1838.

² An account of the manual labour practised in monasteries, is given in the preface to *Acta Sanct. Sæc. I.* § ix. cap. cxiii. The same is strictly enjoined in Reg. lxvi. of St. Benedict's Rule.

production of manufactures, the education of youth, the copying of the Scriptures, the cultivation of learning, and the active offices of charity. It could not be, too, but that the holy austerity they exhibited, the spirit of obedience, the power of the Christian faith, the blessings of civilized life, should attract the unsettled tribes amongst whom the convents rose, and to whom they became the present dispensers of light, as indeed they contained in germ the civilized advancement of subsequent ages.¹ Within them, moreover, was found an asylum for the oppressed and injured, for orphans, for redeemed slaves,² for helpless infirmity. Within them, schools were formed for the instruction of the young, and of the newly converted;—here was nursed the spirit of Christian enterprise, and native missionaries were trained and sent forth, sometimes into the surrounding country, sometimes into distant lands, to bear the knowledge of the Redeemer.—Thus were gathered together all the main instruments for evangelizing a heathen country; hence, under God, tribes were converted, and the kingdom of Christ extended; until what religious men founded in piety, princes afterwards established on worldly policy, for the civilization of their dominions.

¹ The character of these convents is eloquently and impartially set forward by Fleury, *Discours III. Sur l'Histoire Ecclés.* sect. xxii. &c. vol. xiii. p. 26, 4to, 1713.

² *Life of St. Eligius* by Neander. See Appendix, No. XVIII. Thus, Anskar, the apostle of Denmark, redeemed some native slaves in Jutland to educate as missionaries.—Blumhardt, vol. iii. p. 223.

It would be easy to note other secondary causes which tended towards the same end ; but these are such, as either cannot be approved, or are to be attributed rather to the course of God's providence, than to any definite design of man for extending the Gospel.

The impulse being once given,—the influence of rulers, the benefits of civilized life, the respect for men of religion, all conduced to sway many who would otherwise have been unmoved to embrace the Christian faith. Then the coercive measures adopted by those who had the might, as by Charlemagne in Saxony, Olaf in Sweden,¹ the Teutonic knights in Lithuania,² established indeed the Gospel, but by means which the Gospel does not recognise.³ Further, the influence of the Crusades, which were the offspring of a rising spirit of chivalrous devotion, and formed the crisis of the contest between the Cross and the Crescent,—the frequent pilgrimages to Rome and Jerusalem,—the commercial enterprises conducted chiefly by land, were all overruled of God for the propagation of the Faith, and, with it, for the progress of the human race.

¹ The doings of Olaf Tryggvason, are related in Snorro, *Historia Regum Norvegieorum*, vol. i. p. vi.

² For the exploits of the Teutonic knights (the offspring of the Crusaders) against the pagan enemies of Christianity, see Villers, *Essai sur la Réf. de Luther*, p. 293, note.

³ A series of "Dubia" as to the extent of compulsion or persuasion which may lawfully be employed, in order to draw heathens to the acknowledgment of the truth, are discussed in the fifth book of Thomas à Jesu, *De Proet. Salut. omn. Gent.* pp. 204—229.

And now, having surveyed the two periods, we may hasten to such reflections as seem to arise from the review.

First, let me be permitted to remark, that no pious mind can rise from the contemplation of the varied course which the Church has run, can reflect on its marvellous and repeated conflicts, dangers, and manifold triumphs, without being impressed with the perfect conviction of the Almighty power that was working through it, guiding, protecting, prospering, it. We need not turn again to its miraculous rise, nor pause to ascertain the power or the weakness of those secondary causes which tended to aid it in its advance : the bare fact and acknowledgment of these being *but secondary*, their obvious inadequacy to account for the result witnessed,¹ throw the thoughts back on the first impelling cause which set it on its course, and to which its conquests and permanency are due. We may note the dispositions of an overruling Providence in the times and seasons at which some of the most eventful catastrophes of its history occurred ; we may recognise them in the delay of that dark night, which followed on Rome's downfall, till the Church had taken root, had proved its strength, had fixed its creed, had consolidated its system, had gathered to itself all that remained of vigour and goodness in the corrupted empire of the West. We may observe them too, in the fact, how *gradually* the desolating inroads of the invading

¹ See Appendix, No. XIX.

hosts were made ; how wave after wave succeeded at intervals, with respite enough given for the first to spend itself and be quiescent, before a second billow rose and broke. Thus time was allowed for the Church to rally its powers ;—one tribe was in part converted, or at least softened, before another made its onset ; and this, meeting, even on the frontier, the influence of Christianity, was, in a degree, disarmed of hostility before it reached the centre and citadel of the faith. Again, we may observe the providence of God in the constant eduction of good out of evil, even out of events that threatened destruction to the Christian name. That great scourge, the barbarian invasions, forms no exception ; for we may believe that these were designed for the recovery of the enervated nations of the West : the infusion amongst whom of the stronger virtues of a vigorous morality, good faith, chastity, hospitality, and a sense of personal independence, which characterized the rude and warlike tribes of the North, may be regarded as the only possible means of saving them from a worse state of moral slavery and degeneracy, against which the Church had perhaps hopelessly striven.

The same thing is yet more evident in those hindrances which beset the calm progress of the Gospel, such as the trials which checked it from without : for as, in the case of the protomartyr, the persecution of the Jews drove the Christians upon the Romans, so, afterwards, the persecutions of the

Romans drove them upon the barbarians, and the persecution of the barbarians drove the emissaries of the faith into convents and religious asylums, which became the very centres of light and missionary zeal, the citadels of truth and civilization.

Throughout we may recognise, in the extension of the Gospel, a divine control going with it, shaping and sanctifying all things, all events, all influences, as means of its enlargement and exaltation. And yet this does not exclude that inward invisible power with which, from time to time, it wrought mysteriously on the consciences and hearts of men, and by an almost miraculous effect awed them into subjection.

It was a sight that might have kindled the coldest faith, to witness, in the person of the Roman Bishop, an aged, feeble man, with no outward strength or protection, go forth to the camp of Attila; and, when with authority he spoke of the mercy of Christ, to see that victorious chieftain, appalled and subdued by his saintly presence, turn his savage hordes back again from their promised spoil, at the pleading of the servant of God.¹ Surely there was present more than a human influence, when, during the very pillage of the imperial city, the spoiler dared not lay his hand on the sacred vessels which a holy maid surrendered as her only treasure; but, amid the carnage and destruction

¹ A.D. 452. See Gibbon, vol. iii. p. 425, 4to edit.

which raged around, reverently bore them, in sacred procession, and with the chaunt of hymns, to the sanctuary of the Christian temple.¹ Well might Augustine exclaim on these events, “Whoever sees not that this is due to the influence of the name of Christ, and of Christian times, is blind;—whoever sees, yet praises not, is thankless;—whoever strives with him who giveth praise, is mad. Let none in his wisdom trace it to the natural workings of the barbarians. He was there, awing, curbing, miraculously controlling their savage and relentless minds,—He who had so long before foretold by his prophet, ‘I will visit their offences with the rod, and their sin with scourges; nevertheless, my loving-kindness will I not utterly take from him.’”² Well, too, may the Christian reverently recognise in them the presence of the same mysterious Power which struck to the ground those who came out to lay hands on the Lord of Life. And while the infidel³ thought he could account for the secret influence that went with the Gospel, and for its success, by the prevalence of sorcery; and the persecutor, Julian,⁴ by the unity and compact-

¹ Gibbon, vol. iii. p. 237.

² Ps., lxxxviii. 32, 33. Aug. de Civit. Dei, cap. vii. Blumhardt, vol. i. p. 464.

³ Celsus, quoted by Neander, Hist. of Christ. Rel. p. 64. Transl. by Rose.

⁴ Sozomen remarks, v. 16, that Julian, perceiving τὸν Χριστιανισμόν τὴν σύστασιν ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τῶν αὐτὸν μετιόντων, διανοεῖτο πανταχῇ τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς ναοὺς τῇ παρασκευῇ

ness of its external system, and sacerdotal authority ; the Christian saw, and still sees, in instances such as these, the power of Christ dwelling in His Church, which forms its hidden life, and encircles it, as a wall of fire, to protect it from its foes.

2. But in reference more particularly to the secondary means by which the Gospel was extended, and which it is mainly our object to examine, it occurs at once to observe the widely different aspect which is presented in the mode of its propagation in the two periods which have been reviewed. The former was distinguished by a miraculous agency and the absence of temporal aid ; the latter by a large employment of secondary appliances ;—in the former, the Church was rather defensive ; in the latter, aggressive. Further, the means which were used in the advancement of the faith in the two periods were of a different order :—an appeal to the intellect, and reason, and conscience, marking the one ; the influence of civilization, the other. In the former, the Gospel was wholly antagonistic to Paganism, it offered no compromise, but renounced all heathen principles and practices ; in the latter, being an age of barbarism, a certain accommodation to ignorance, and adoption of heathen practices was admitted, to win over the prejudices of the uncon-

καὶ τῇ τάξει τῆς Χριστιανῶν θρησκείας διακοσμεῖν, κ. τ. λ. : and then follows a letter from Julian to Arsacius, the priest of Galatia, on the subject.

verted.¹ Perhaps as a result of these differences, we have to note, that, whereas in the first period conversions were individual, in the latter they were national:—in the former, the course of Christianity was from the lower up to the higher; in the latter, princes were addressed first,² and then the people. And it must be added, that, if the consequence of this latter process was to extend the Gospel wide, and to plant it among nations, to the blessing of future generations, yet, at the time, the conversions were much less genuine and real than those which marked the earlier period of Christianity, the age of earnest faith and suffering devotion.

3. But, throughout these periods, it is to be observed, the Gospel was presented to the heathen as a system, in the form of a visible body, within which, as it were, Christ was to be found, and in Him the new life of their whole being acquired. The fact of its advance having been

¹ See the instructions of Gregory to Augustine, Bede, i. ch. 30, in which the sacrifice of oxen, &c. was to be allowed to the Saxon converts, only in honour of Christ, instead of to their demons.

² Boniface, in his twelfth letter (to Bishop Daniel, first bishop of Winchester), quoted by Neander, *Allgemeine Geschichte*, vol. iii. p. 100, says, "*Sine patrocinio Principis Francorum nec populum regere nec presbyteros vel diaconos monachos, vel ancillas Dei regere possum, vel ipsos Paganorum ritus, et sacrilegia idolorum in Germania sive illius mandato et timore prohibere valeo.*" Father Bouhours, in the *Life of Xavier* (Dryden's transl., book vi. p. 185) remarks, that "the most efficacious means of conversion," (a means, surely, too much neglected by ourselves,) "used by Xavier was this; he endeavoured to gain to God those persons that were most considerable, either for their dignity, or by their birth."

attributed, as has been remarked, to such a cause as this, is enough to prove how large an element its external system formed in its character, and how forcibly the minds of unbelievers were affected by it. In the earlier period, though less discernible by the outward eye, its visible constitution was in reality all the more forcibly realized by the faithful; for oppression and contempt only gathered them the more closely together, and made them more deeply conscious, from the sympathy which each felt for the other, and from the intercommunion of distant churches, that they were the family of God, and that to belong to Christ was to belong to a fixed, and this a suffering, body. But the same idea was again clearly exhibited, when the Church expanded itself, and penetrated among the hosts of the barbarians. The men who went forth on that mission ever carried and presented to the heathen the idea of the body of Christ:—they asserted it in their creed; they showed it in the communities which they formed; in the asylum they opened to those who were converted; in the jurisdiction they at once established by the consecration of a bishop in every newly-gained district; in the discipline which they observed; in the intercourse which they kept up, not only with one another, but with the mother Church from which they came, and, in later days, with the see of Rome. It is not the place to comment on the despotic dominion which that Church at length usurped, and by which,

instead of exhibiting, it destroyed the true idea of the Church of Christ ; yet we must admit that the fact of such a power having been established, proves at least the prevalence of a conviction that Christianity was a system, that Christians were a body, and that unity was a token of that body ;— and further, a dispassionate judgment will conclude that such a power, usurped as it was, yet became a channel of God's providences to the world ; that it was still the means whereby the idea of a spiritual rule on earth was tangibly impressed on minds which would have been unaffected by the purer and simpler garb which the Gospel wore in primitive ages ; that it did overcome the cruelty and tyranny of monarchs, before which weaker or less compacted bodies might have fallen ; did frequently check the career of guilty power, and uphold the cause of justice and of virtue.

4. There is still another lesson of striking significance, which a general glance at the extension of the Gospel, in its ebb and flow over the surface of the world during these ages, impresses upon the mind. It is, that the permanency of the Church has been indissolubly connected with the maintenance of the essential verities of the Christian faith. And further, together with the loss of these, there seems ever to have passed away also all power and energy to give life and stability, not to the Church alone, but even to the institutions of social and national existence. Is not this mourn-

fully recorded in the history of a large portion of the Eastern Church? For centuries it was the source of successive heresies touching the very centre of the Christian faith,—and it fell in consequence, almost irrecoverably, as a helpless prey, before the arms of the false Prophet. What, again, was the fate of the Nestorian bodies which were dispersed over the still further East? For a few centuries they prevailed, and multiplied Churches among the swarming tribes of Asia; yet, as though they had “no root in themselves,” when the heat of trial fell upon them, they disappeared “as the grass upon the housetops, . . . wherewith the mower filleth not his hand; nor he that bindeth sheaves his bosom.”¹ Or contemplate, again, the fortunes of Arianism in the West. For a time, like most systems of plausible error, it spread rapidly and widely, yet unhealthfully. It gained the earlier barbarian hordes; it possessed itself of the greater portion of the West. But less than a century was enough to see its rise and decline; and, more than this,—as if it carried with it the principle of death,—as if it withered what it touched, and imparted its own evanescence to those communities that embraced its blasphemies,—it is a most striking lesson, that not one of the tribes who became Arian has preserved its name among the nations of the earth. Other tribes from the East, smaller and weaker than they, embracing the true faith, have been permitted to

¹ Psalm cxxix. 6, 7.

preserve the memorial of their name in the European kingdoms which they severally formed, but of the former no record remains—they are not written among the nations.¹

And do we ask how is this? Certainly, if a nation's life, its unity, and strength, are to be traced to its religious faith, the answer is not difficult. For heresy has no inherent vitality; its principle is disunion; it confesses no transmitted creed; it breaks itself off from communion with past ages; it loses sight of the authority, and, therefore, the idea of the Church; it is ever distracted, for it appeals alone to individual conviction; it acknowledges no allegiance to what has gone before, and therefore cannot claim any to itself; it cannot impart (for itself is a stranger to it) the high temper of faith and obedience, which, as it forms the Christian's life, is the life of nations also. And therefore it is changeful and transitory; and nations that have embraced it have lost the principle, the source, of stability, and the blessing of God. Therefore, too, on the other hand, has the Church prevailed and remained.² It has guarded its transmitted creed, and authority, and system; and hence has secured its strength. And while it preserves the purity of the faith, not the

¹ Appendix, No. XX.

² Rufinus was able to state, that, up to his time, no heresy had taken its rise from Rome, or from any of the Western Churches. —In Symbol. Apost. § 3.

command and promise of its Saviour alone, but the experience of past ages, the visible blessing of God, the nations that through successive centuries were brought into subjection to the Cross of Christ,—these may assure us, that, if we are “zealous,” and “repent, and do the first works,” if we but stir up the gift which He hath given, power shall not be wanting to “make Jerusalem a praise,” “the joy of the whole earth !”

LECTURE V.

MISSIONS SINCE THE REFORMATION.

PART I.

JOHN XVIII. 36.

MY KINGDOM IS NOT OF THIS WORLD.

THE sixteenth century, the period at which I closed the foregoing review of the extension of the Gospel, witnessed not merely a resuscitation of the human mind, but a remodelling of the whole state of society. The elements of previous disorder began to be reduced to harmony; principles of truth, which had been entertained before as but indistinct guesses, were acknowledged, and fixed, by being brought into action; rights were recognised; power was consolidated; old things seemed to be passing away, and a new destiny to unfold itself to the nations of Europe. The full effects of the great movement which then took place are still unrealized; and probably, neither the beneficial results, nor the vicious developments of the principles then put in motion, can yet be appreciated. It was the crisis towards which the unsettlement of preceding cen-

turies, with their contests, discordant systems, and irregular strivings after truth and peace, had been gradually but surely tending : and now, on a sudden, there was a stirring among the nations ; not in one direction only, but in every department of individual activity and social existence, a new system arose, with new manifestations of power, as though some fresh forms of creation had been thrown up from the depths of the earth. Fresh energies were put forth, and struck boldly forward over a boundless untried sea ; and in art and science, as in the material globe, a new world was discovered in recompence to the “ventures of faith.” And although it was in the calling forth of *individual* powers, that the peculiar character of the period was evinced, yet its wonderful effects were seen no less in the recasting of those principles by which the civil condition of mankind is regulated. There was a fixing and settling of political relations in the internal government of nations ; and a balancing of power, too, in their external policy, as they began to recognise their mutual obligations, interests, and independence : and whereas almost every preceding century, from the downfall of the Western empire, had witnessed some devastating inroad of warlike tribes from the East, a curb now seemed placed on these outbursts of lawless violence, and the nations settled down in peace. It was the age of colonization, too, which is probably destined to become, in the providence of God, the main instrument for

furthering His purposes in the extension of the kingdom of Christ.

But of all the events that occurred at that eventful period, the Reformation in religion was the greatest; its effects have been the most lasting and influential, even as religion affects the deepest springs of human action: and while it was itself the product of preceding causes, it has become largely a moving cause in all succeeding results. Yet on this point it is not intended to say more, than that, with the Reformation and that stirring of men's hearts and minds which accompanied it, a new impulse was given to the efforts, never discontinued indeed, but of late ages languidly carried on, to extend the faith of Christ: and both in the East and in the West a fair field lay open to the zeal and enterprise of the soldiers of the Cross. At this time, however, the Church of Rome, which commanded the influence of the great maritime powers, was alone in a condition to undertake the task with any vigour; and within that Church it was undertaken most largely,—so largely as almost to occupy the whole field of vision,—by that extraordinary company, which rose up specially to contend with the Reformation, viz. the Jesuits; whose subsequent failures, and enormous vices, are found in strange union with as much heroic self-sacrifice, as much purity and singleness of purpose, as was ever devoted to any cause that has been prosecuted upon the earth.

I proceed, therefore, to sketch shortly the efforts made in the earlier portion of this period, by the Church of Rome, towards the extension of Christianity among the heathen, and those which are made by the same body at the present time ;—and this with the view of ascertaining, not merely the success that has attended these efforts, but the strength and weakness of those methods and principles on which they have been conducted.

And in doing this, I shall best approve myself to your judgments if I avoid both the spirit and the argument which has been adopted by writers of the Church of Rome when treating on these subjects. One object seems uppermost in their mind—to depreciate, to decry, to exhibit a cold malicious pleasure in underrating, all that has been done, or is doing, by others than themselves.¹ Fresh schemes have of late been devised by that Church, avowedly to imitate and oppose the exertions of some Protestant bodies ;² while not in our own country alone, but in our colonies, a precise, studied, and untiring effort is making to enter into a contest

¹ See the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, *e. g.* vol. iii. pp. 1—48, especially 61, No. LXXXII. p. 211, &c. Comp. Dr. Wiseman's sixth Lecture, the extreme unfairness of which, as an account of Protestant Missions, must at once strike any one acquainted at all with the subject. A glaring instance of this will be noticed in Lect. VI.

² "C'est l'Angleterre," (says a writer in the *Annales*, vol. i. No. VI. p. 92, note,) "qui a fourni l'idée modèle de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi. La Société des Anabaptistes a formé pour ses Missions des Sociétés," &c. &c. See also vol. ii. p. 72, where this Association is called a "contrepoids" to the Bible Society.

with our own branch of the Church Catholic.¹ And it has been thought politic, if not ingenuous, even in official documents, so to represent the missionary labours of other bodies, (defective in many respects as we fully allow them to be,) as if no success had attended their steps,—as if the converts thus brought to a confession of Christ were composed merely of apostates from the Church of Rome, were of ill characters, and swayed by mercenary motives.² With this representation is contrasted, of course, a specious exhibition of the missions of Rome; an ostentatious parade of numbers is made; and the Divine sanction to that Church and system is thence inferred. But neither will this argument be allowed any more than the spirit by which it is advanced and maintained. Numbers are no test of truth; numbers may be gained by error,³ even more readily than by the severity of a sound faith; and although expansiveness is one mark of the true Church, yet permanency is a surer one. Nor, whatever wisdom we may willingly recognise, and desire to imitate, in the methods and manage-

¹ A Table, which I regret I am not at liberty to make further use of, has been drawn up from the Reports of the *Annales*, showing that the extension of missions of the Church of Rome, for the last several years, has been remarkably and uniformly in the direction of the English Colonies, and where the Church of England exists.

² *Annales*, vol. iii. pp. 60, 61, with the note. Dr. Wiseman's Lect. VII. p. 224, note.

³ Thus Archbishop Land argued against Fisher, Conference, p. 254. Oxford, 1839.

ment adopted by the Church of Rome, and in its enterprise too;—however we may sympathize, wherever, within its own limits, it has conveyed the grace and light of the Gospel to the savage heart, turning it from idols “to serve the living and true God,”—can we do else than repudiate them, when we find these methods unjustifiable and profane, and subversive of the true idea and constitution of Christ’s Church; when we find the converts lapsing into apostasy, or falling back into an idolatrous or half-paganized Christianity;—nor need we be greatly moved by the taunt at the popular arts, by which, in too many cases, the missionary cause has been advocated and its funds recruited, even within our own Church, when we find their place supplied, in the Roman system, by indulgences dispensed and accurately proportioned to the prayers and contributions of the subscribers.¹

¹ The following is a transcript of the indulgences granted by various popes to the members of the Institution. They are “applicable,” it is stated, “to the souls in purgatory.”

“1. *A Plenary Indulgence* on the festival of the Finding of the Holy Cross; the anniversary of the first establishment of the institution at Lyons in the year 1822; on the festival of Saint Francis Xavier, patron of the Institution; and, once a month, on any day, at the choice of each subscriber, provided he says every day within the month the appointed prayers” . . . “The indulgence attached to the two festivals of the Finding of the Holy Cross and of Saint Francis Xavier, may, upon the prescribed condition, be gained, at the choice of each subscriber, either on the day of the festival, or on any day within their octaves, or on the day to which their celebration shall be attached by the bishop.”

“2. *An Indulgence of a hundred days*, each time that the prescribed prayers, with at least a contrite heart, will be repeated, or

The object, then, before me, is merely this ; to trace the broader lines along which the Faith has been extended within the last three centuries by missionaries of the Church of Rome ; in which the statements of their own advocates will be generally followed, though it is absolutely necessary to receive them with hesitation ; and then (what more especially applies to the purpose I have in hand) to comment on the methods and principles by which those successes have been obtained.

I begin, then, with India : and it is an edifying fact to observe, that not even the first intercourse with that unexplored continent was attempted without a thought for its conversion ; and that the earliest baptisms were administered by the confessor of Vasco di Gama.¹ For several years the ground was occupied by Franciscans and Capuchins, but no memorial of their success is transmitted. And so it continued, till India was visited, in 1542, by that valiant soldier of the Cross, Francis Xavier. The injustice done to this apostolic missionary by the fables with which his history is deformed,² renders it difficult to appreciate his mode of action, or

a donation made to the missions, or any other pious or charitable work performed."

¹ Millar's Propagation of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 350.

² Among the many works which record his achievements is one with the title of "Xavier Thaumaturgus," containing, it need scarcely be said, a tissue of the most extravagant fables. On the subject of the miracles attributed to him, see Appendix, No. XXI.

the amount of his success: but the heroic faith with which he threw himself among the idolatrous tribes; the quenchless love of souls with which he was consumed; the incalculable labours and endurance which render his story almost a romance of chivalry; the entire spirit of self-sacrifice with which he devoted himself to his one object; his zeal in preaching and tending the sick; and, with all this, the earnest piety and watchfulness over his own heart which breathe in his letters, and the wisdom with which he directed the missionary efforts of his coadjutors; offer all that we can desire or conceive in the personal character of a servant of God charged with the commission to preach among the heathen “repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ.”¹

¹ In reading the letters of Fr. Xavier, and those of the later Jesuit missionaries in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, &c. it is impossible not to be struck with the great deterioration of tone and conduct which appears in the later missionaries compared with their great leader. *E. g.*—Xavier ever openly professed himself an European;—he strictly enjoined subjection to episcopal authority;—he commanded the missionaries to abstain from worldly occupations;—he makes no mention of the performance of miracles;—he is silent on the subject of his own great sufferings.

Compare, on each of these points, the behaviour of the later missionaries, which will be noticed in these Lectures:—their concealment of their being Europeans, and the false behaviour thence resulting;—their impatience of episcopal control;—their traffic and mercenary pursuits;—the frequent accounts of miraculous performance;—the enlargement on their own sufferings which occurs in their writings;—and we shall at once see that a new system, not that of Xavier, had sprung up, which in the end marred the work he so successfully began.

Twice he traversed the provinces of Southern India; twice crossed the sea from Cape Comorin to China, and even to Japan; thirty kingdoms became subject to the faith;—in the space of eleven years he passed over three times the circuit of the globe, till his name acted as a spell on the minds of men throughout the Indian Seas. His own accounts present us with notices of the marvellous conversions which he effected. In one month he baptized, according to his own statement, ten thousand idolaters;¹ the whole kingdom of Travancore was gained over to the faith;² Ceylon, we are told, embraced Christianity;³ other islands followed in the train; and the converts in Japan, within a century, are estimated variously between one and two millions.⁴ It may be, that these statements are somewhat exaggerated; still, at any rate, a sensible impression was made on the heathenism of Eastern Asia. But now, turning our eyes from the past to the present, and surveying the actual condition of districts where once many churches were numbered, we are forced to conclude that there must have been some grievous defect in the methods employed for the conversion of the natives, or at least for the perpetuity of the faith

¹ *Lettres de Fr. Xavier*, vol. i. Lettre XLV. Edit. Brussels, 1838. In Letter XIV. p. 196, he writes, “souvent j’ai baptisé en un seul jour, des bourgades entières.”

² *Life by Father Bouhours*, translated by Dryden, pp. 114, 115.

³ *Annales de la Foi*, vol. iii. p. 53.

⁴ *Annales*, vol. iii. p. 50,—“Environ deux millions.”

among them. On Xavier's death, the missions seem to have languished ; till, sixty years later, one of the same fraternity set himself to re-establish them. By this time the tendencies of the principles adopted by the Jesuits began to work themselves out, and a system of accommodation, and of unscrupulous expedients, was employed by Robert à Nobili,¹ which ended in those disgraceful contests which exhibited Order in bitter conflict with Order, Pope opposed to Pope, and the Jesuits in turn set against the decrees of the Sovereign Pontiff, and against episcopal authority, to the scandal and injury of the Christian faith. From the time of the bull of Benedict XIV. (1744), the missions declined :² whatever number of converts were reckoned at that period, they at once decreased ; and we have the unquestionable authority of a Roman Catholic missionary for stating that, in the space of about seventy years from this event, they were reduced to one-third of the previous number, in the extensive districts of the Marawa, Madura, the Carnatic, and Mysore.³

The names of Xavier and Japan demand next a

¹ This missionary, called also Robert de Nobilibus, was related to Pope Marcellus II. and nephew to Cardinal Bellarmine.—See *Lettres Edifiantes*, vol. x. p. 72.

² The bull “*Omnium Solitudinem.*” See *Letters on the State of Christianity in India*, by the Abbé Dubois, p. 11. As I shall have to cite this author on several occasions, I would refer to the Preface for the reasons why his authority cannot fairly be questioned even by Roman Catholics.

³ Dubois, p. 7.

mention of the eventful tale of the Christianity of that kingdom, coinciding as it does with the general outline which the course of the Roman missions exhibits. If we follow the account of Xavier's labours, and those of his immediate successors, the conversions effected throughout the provinces of this island were almost miraculous. *How* they were effected I do not at present inquire. Many circumstances there were of a secondary and temporal character which gained the favour of the kings, and aided the efforts of the missionaries.¹ Yet certainly these, too, evinced a patient and courageous zeal, which won the blessing of God, and

¹ Mosheim states these to be; 1st. The teaching of bountifulness to the poor, which contrasted strongly with the severity and cruelty of the Bonzes. 2d. The great similarity between the Romish rites and those prevailing among the Japanese. 3d. The interest of the several maritime princes who wished to draw to themselves the commerce of the Portuguese. Vol. ii. p. 261, London, 1838. Similar reasons are adduced by Arnoldus Montanus, in the *Atlas Japonensis*, pp. 219—252. The corresponding religious practices, as stated by these two writers, consist in—the existence of a sovereign Pontiff, called the Dayro; the system of penances; saying prayers by beads; the worship of departed saints; processions; prayers for the dead; auricular confession; numerous monasteries; and consequently the observance of celibacy. However this analogy (which is discoverable in Thibet and Siam, as well as Japan) is to be accounted for, I will only add, that the solution offered by Dr. Wiseman, in his eleventh Lecture on Science and Revealed Religion, in which he supposes these Eastern religious practices to be an imitation of the Roman Catholic worship, will not at all meet the case; for many of them are much more ancient than the intercourse between the Church of Rome and the East. Böhlen, in his work, *Das alte Indien*, notices many of the same resemblances; and the subject will be again referred to in Lect. VIII.

secured a large portion of the result of their labours. The triumph, however, was but short: within a century the number of converts who received the Gospel rose to above a million; a persecution was commenced in 1613, as cruel perhaps as was ever stirred by the power of evil against the Church of Christ;—thousands of Christians met, with unwavering constancy, the fire of martyrdom;—but with its flames the light of the Christian faith expired, and pagan darkness has continued since to brood more deeply over the land.

The dying wish of the great apostle of the Indies was to set his foot within the spell-encircled limits of the Chinese empire. He saw it only, and expired. But his vow did not pass away and perish; it was caught, as a descending mantle, by others of a kindred spirit. About twenty years after his death,¹ Matthew Rogier arrived in China, and was soon followed by his coadjutor Ricci—men of energy, well-versed in literature, science, and the practical arts, and devoted to the one object of evangelizing that vast empire. From this period, the end of the sixteenth century, the Church spread itself wonderfully, and with but few reverses, throughout the Chinese provinces, up to the beginning of the eighteenth century; numbering imperial converts among the faithful, so that the Gospel was “manifest in all

¹ 1579. A sketch of these events may be found in Mosheim, and Gutzlaff's *History of China*, chap. xix., and are illustrated in the *Lettres Edif.* vols. xvi.—xxiv.

the palace, and in all other places.” Their skill in mathematics, their diplomatic address, and unwearied industry, recommended the Jesuit missionaries to the highest and most influential stations in the empire; the education of the heir to that vast dominion was entrusted to them; the mission was encouraged by the French monarch; and the countenance given to the Christian Faith at the close of the seventeenth century,¹ seemed to throw open the door wide for gathering that imposing empire within the fold of Christ. But at this point, as in the countries already named, when the swelling tide seemed ready to overflow the land, a check and reverse came;—the corrupt practices of the Jesuits excited the opposition of the Franciscans and Dominicans;—the disputes and animosities between the Orders roused the suspicion of the Chinese rulers;—persecution commenced;²—the missions thenceforth declined, and for the last century have been feebly maintained. It is certain, however, that a remnant still exists in the empire, though chiefly of the lowest class.³ Missionaries from among the Lazarists,⁴ and agents of the Propaganda, occupy the field, scattered about under an interdict, and fre-

¹ The emperor Kang-he was educated by Schaal; and in 1692 issued an edict in favour of the missionaries, legalizing the preaching of the Christian faith in his empire. Preface to vol. xvi. *Lettres Edifiantes*, p. xiii.

² 1736.

³ Macartney's *Mission to China*, by Sir G. Staunton, vol. ii. p. 159. Medhurst's *China*, p. 243.

quently meeting their flocks by stealth. Converts, estimated at the number of 200,000, are said still to remain, though this is but one-fifth of the number which the Jesuits, on their expulsion, bequeathed to their successors.¹

The neighbouring kingdoms of Tonkin and Cochin-China form probably the most interesting of all the missions of Rome. These and the contiguous country of Siam are distributed into five Vicariates, and contain, according to late reports, above 400,000 Christians.² Again, I omit for the present the methods by which these numbers are swelled, but which correspond with the system which has generally been adopted. It is impossible to read, unmoved, the statements transmitted by the missionaries from this district, in which, of late years, both the fury of the first pagan persecutions under Nero or Diocletian seems to have revived, and a similar constancy with that of the earliest Christians, to have been evinced by some of the European priests, and even by native converts,—men who “have not counted their lives dear unto them,” but in dungeons, or by the more merciful sword, have won the crown of martyrdom.

But we turn now to the West; for both worlds opened at the same period before the enterprize of Europe, and specially of the two maritime powers,

¹ *Annales de la Foi*, vol. ii. p. 245.

² *Etat général des Missions*, vol. xii. *Annales*.

Spain and Portugal. The tale of the invasion and subjugation of Central and Southern America is written in blood. Yet into these districts, among the uncivilized aborigines, the Church of Rome sent forth its emissaries:—and although their operations differed widely in character from those pursued in the East, yet the course of the missions in both hemispheres tallies as regards their rapid success and as rapid declension. For above a century and a half the Reductions of Paraguay formed a spiritual republic in the heart of the Spanish and Portuguese dominions. A hundred and fifty thousand Indians were reclaimed from their wandering life,¹ grouped into families, instructed and provided for in common as children of a household. Looking solely at the methods used for their conversion, we cannot but admire the skill and wisdom by which the natives were won over and humanized; and we may find, in their general outline, a complete exhibition of those means by which savage tribes may at the first be civilized, and brought under the influence of Christianity.² We must, in common Christian sympathy, recognise in these labours, a noble attempt to rescue the natives from the corrupting and exterminating influence of European avarice and civilization:—but two faults beset them. First, it was not the Church that was planted among the natives of Paraguay, but a

¹ Prichard's Researches, vol. ii. p. 481, note.

² See Appendix, No. XXII.

principality of Jesuits :¹ episcopal superintendence was carefully avoided ;² and therefore we cannot but view these families of converts as destitute, in a measure, of the divine rule of the Catholic Church, and in that degree socially weakened. And, secondly, the Christianity that was embraced consisted chiefly of an external adherence to a system of forms, and deeply superstitious worship :³ the Indians were treated as children, and the treatment was defended on the ground of their being but in a state of pupillage ; and therefore when the rule of the Jesuits was removed,⁴ the system that had been established at once fell.

The Jesuits had laboured for a century and a half ; and yet, at the close, the natives had acquired,

¹ They separated themselves from national authority ;—thus, they told the natives of Parana and Uruguai, “que le Roi d’Espagne n’avoit point de pouvoir sur eux.” *Recueil des Décrets Apostoliques et des Ordonnances du Roi de Portugal*, Avertissement, p. 14. The contests between the Jesuits and the Crown of Portugal are detailed in the *Relation Abrégée concernant la République que les Religieux (nommés) Jésuites ont établi dans les pays et domaines outre mer* ; also in *Principaux Abus que les Religieux de la Compagnie de Jésus ont commis pour usurper les États de l’Amérique Portugaise et Espagnole*, published by Joseph I. King of Portugal, in 1757.

² Southey’s *History of Brazil*, vol. ii. The Jesuits claimed to be subject to their superior, and not to the bishop, who had his seat at Assumption. Bernardin de Cardenas, a bishop, for attempting to restrain the Jesuits, was driven by them from his episcopal town in 1644. The same occurred in 1646.—*Recueil des Décrets*, &c. 14.

³ In proof of this it is sufficient to refer to the *Lettres Edif. &c.* vol. ix. on Paraguay.

⁴ 1757.

under their special instruction, so little strength of character, so little of the principles of social life, that they were unable to maintain their existence. Like the original tribes of North and Central America, whole races wasted away : and their past history is like some by-gone vision, the disappearance of which proves that it was baseless. And what has followed ? We may learn from the present state of Mexico, that if Christianity can be said to have overspread the once flourishing colonies of Spain and Portugal, yet it was such as gave but “a name to live,” and bequeathed but a doubtful benefit.¹ “A change of name,” says a traveller, “a change of form and garb of the idols, new symbols, altered ceremonials, another race of priests, has been effected for the Indians. . . . The whole system of the aboriginal religious hierarchy bears a singular resemblance to that which took its place under the domination of Spain. . . . They retain their superstitious, talismans, and charms ; . . . but as to any change of heart and purpose, a knowledge of the true God as a Spirit, who is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, a sense of their degraded and fallen state as men, and an acquaintance with the truths of the Gospel, its application to their indivi-

¹ Reign of de Francia in Paraguay, from 1819 to 1825, by J. R. Rengger. After speaking of the system of the Jesuits, he adds, “the descendants of these Neophytes have scarcely any advantage over the savage Indians ; and yet, surely, one hundred and fifty years of instruction ought to have left some traces behind it.”—P. 55.

dual state, and its influence on their lives and characters, they are as blind and ignorant as their forefathers.¹

We have to trace likewise a similar effort directed towards the hitherto inaccessible regions of Africa; an effort conducted in the same way, meeting with the same success, and the same discomfiture. The conquests of the Portuguese on the Western coast opened the course of the Congo to Christian enterprise; and hither, in the seventeenth century, the see of Rome sent missionaries of the strictest religious order, the Capuchins,² to bring the dark tribes which inhabit that kingdom to the faith. The kings of powerful states, and with them their subjects, were led to profess the Gospel. Zingha, a queen of vast influence, and of a cruel and intrepid character, was baptized; but it becomes a mere mockery of the solemn work of conversion to God, to regard the reception of the idolatrous natives into the Church, as more than an unmeaning and profane ceremony.³ And though for two hundred years these efforts were continued, yet, since then, the spirit that set them in action has died away, and the name of these Western tribes, as well as

¹ Latrobe's *Mexico*, p. 166.

² Fifteen Capuchins were sent by Alexander VII. in 1666, and others by Innocent XI. in 1682. See Pinkerton's *Voyages*, Africa.

³ Murray's *Discoveries in Africa*, pp. 80, 81. See Appendix, No. XXIII.

that of Sierra Leone, is expunged from the list of the missions of Rome.¹

It would be only to repeat a similar tale, were I to recount the labours of the same unwearied propagators of the faith, to bring the ancient Church of Abyssinia into subjection to the Roman see. For nearly a century the Jesuits directed their versatile powers against its mild and pastoral inhabitants ; but the spirit of those who recollected that the conversion of their forefathers had been the care of the great Athanasius, rose against the schismatical intrusion ; they were content to endure, even unto death, the persecution which was stirred, through the influence of these stranger missionaries, against them ; until, by the middle of the seventeenth century,² the name of the Jesuits, and the authority of the Roman see, were finally banished from the precincts of this primitive, though fallen Church.

Such is a sketch of the more marked efforts to extend the faith, which have issued from the Church of Rome, since the period when universal Europe was roused to new deeds of enterprize and social advancement. And, of late years, a fresh,

¹ An establishment, under the bishop of Angola, exists in the Portuguese possessions on the coasts ; but all attempts upon the native tribes in the interior seem to have ceased. See *Annales*, vol. xii. p. 340.

² 1632. The account of this violent attempt of the Jesuits, and their failure, is given in Geddes's *History of the Church of Ethiopia*, and in Millar's *Propagation of the Gospel*, vol. ii.

but far more questionable zeal,—for it is characterised by a spirit of rivalry,—has evinced itself; and Rome is making revived efforts to extend its spiritual sway. While it had kings and princes for its nursing fathers, it was content to follow in the train of colonization, to laud and excite the zeal of governments in the propagation of the faith; but its later conduct is marked by a disregard and a contempt of this obligation of the state towards its colonies; it claims an universal sovereignty; and now, wherever the English arms have opened a way, or the English Church has extended its fostering care, there Rome rears a rival altar, and numbers itself with the sects. Thus, in Australia,¹ and more recently in New Zealand,—within a few months in Tasmania,—even already, as is said, in the recently-acquired territory of China,—the standard of the Roman see has been raised, its authority is inculcated, with its attendant corruptions, to the destruction of the unity of the Church. To judge from the accounts, however, that have been received, the numbers of its native converts in the countries alluded to are but small;² nor is there ground for anticipating much success to its labours, when it is found in opposition to

¹ See Appendix, No. XXIV. for the just and manly protest of the prelate of this diocese against the intrusion, into his see, of an archbishop appointed by the pope. The step he has taken is one involving a most important principle, which he has promptly asserted.

² The bishop of New Zealand, in a letter, dated July 29, 1842, remarks of Korarika, the head quarters of the French bishop (Pompallier), “I have been unable to ascertain the slightest

the rightful and divine authority of a national episcopate.

It would be impossible, in the body of a discourse, to enter more minutely into the details of the various missions thus generally sketched; nor into a statistical account of those now existing in China, India, and the South Pacific Isles, the chief scenes of the present labours of Rome in the extension of the Gospel. The review of them, even as thus exhibited, opens a wide field of solemn and interesting reflection. It suggests, at the very outset, a thought that will strike every observer. We see, together with the awakening spirit of Europe, missionary enterprise throwing itself into the different quarters of the globe; following in the track of armies, sharing in the hazards of discovery, and keeping pace with the eagerness of commercial activity. We find men gifted with every power that can conciliate or sway mankind, going, as on a crusade, against newly-discovered Paganism, supported by monarchs, armed with an intense spiritual power; and it would seem as if the sceptre of Satan was at once about to fall before the Cross and the Spirit of Christ. The sickle was thrust boldly into the whitening harvest, and a large return seemed at first to reward the labourer's toil. But almost universally, just when

foundation for the bishop's statement of *many thousand converts* having joined him. His converts, as far as I can learn, are not numerous."

success was reaching the full realization of hope, it was checked, and reverse began ; the swelling waters abated, and flowed within narrower channels ; and the conviction is forced upon the mind that permanency does not belong to the means then adopted for propagating the faith ; that there was latent in them the seed of decay, which required only time, and a trial sufficiently prolonged, for its development.¹

Successive progress and decline has been the confessed condition of the Roman missions ;² and the point for our further consideration is, to what causes may that success and decline be referred ? We should be led to expect that there must have been in the methods employed an admixture of truth and error, of what is earthly with what is divine ; and probably that the means of immediate success were the cause of subsequent failure. If in any degree we can ascertain these causes, they will at least present us with lessons of no common interest and value.

And now, it seems on reflection, that as far as secondary means are concerned, we may, in a large

¹ In addition to the instances mentioned, it may be observed, that the island of Moro, in the Indian Archipelago, was numbered among the triumphs of Fr. Xavier ; Thomas à Jesu, p. 109 ; also, life of Xavier, translated by Dryden, p. 177 ; but of this island it is stated in the *Annales de la Foi*, “ la trace (de l'évangile) en est entièrement effacée.”—Vol. i. p. 18.

² Thus, at least, it is confessed, in India, “ Telle est, en abrégé, l'esquisse de la naissance, des progrès, et du déclin de la Religion Chrétienne dans l'Inde.”—*Annales*, vol. iii. p. 58.

degree, trace the solution of the whole question to the very constitution of the bodies by which those labours were mainly conducted. The religious fraternities, especially the company of Jesuits, were the great agents in these missionary enterprizes; and the only light in which we can view these bodies, is that of voluntary associations. Though sanctioned by pontifical authority, they were yet independent in their operations, and became societies within, and yet distinct from, the Church. They imposed their own vows, exacted allegiance to fresh authority, formed and wielded a distinct machinery for engaging in special labours. It is well known how complete and unquestioning a surrender is made by the members of the society above-named to the head of their order.¹ Hence naturally arose the desire of aggrandizement for their own body;² hence the love of power: submission to the Church and to its rules was lost sight of,³ or subordinated to the attainment of a particular design; and with

¹ Constitution. Jesuit. 31. "Superiorem (quicumque ille sit) loco Christi Domini nostri agnoscentes . . . obediunt." This is enlarged on in the Epistle of Ignatius Loyola to the order. See *Epistolæ Generalium ad Fratres Soc. Jesu.* Antwerp, 1635, Ep. 1.

² See *Tractatus de Missionibus*, by Rovenius, Archbishop of Philippi, and Vicar Apostolic, p. 49, Paris, 1625. The evils of the religious orders in missions, are pointed out with much calmness and truth in this small treatise. The writer was assailed for it by some of the orders; but was defended and vindicated by Camillus Cæsar, censor of publications at Rome.

³ This was complained of in a letter to Pope Innocent X. from Jobu de Palafox, bishop of Angelopolis, in 1649, who remarks of the Jesuits, "Leur gouvernement ne se conduit point par les règles de l'Eglise Catholique, mais suivant les maximes d'une

the loss of this temper, flowed in the whole tide of evil conduct and fatal result which followed. Amazing zeal, and heroic devotion and energy, were enlisted in the labours that were undertaken ; but in the prosecution of them, maxims and expedients most questionable and culpable were adopted, fixed principles of moral obligation were evaded, a pliancy and accommodation the most varied were resorted to, and every means of human influence was employed to ensure visible and present success. And visible and present success followed ; but in the main they were human devices and unauthorized expedients that were used in obtaining it, and therefore, after a period of wonderful effect, and romantic achievement, failure and discomfiture ensued.

And this I have to trace out in the efforts that were directed towards the conversion of the heathen world. And the first thing to be noted, is the principle of alluring the minds of the heathen by an adaptation of the Gospel, and of the worship of God, to pagan practices and prejudices. The least objectionable form of this is discerned in the large use of pictures, and images, and amulets, and even the sale of consecrated corn by which the converts were frequently attracted.¹ For the last religious

direction cachée qui ne sont sue que des Supérieurs.—*Recueil des Décrets Apostoliques, &c.* vol. i. p. 258.

¹ See *Lettres de Fr. Xavier, Lettre LXXIV.* vol. ii. p. 175, Edit. Brussels, 1838 ; *Lettres Edif.* vol. xxii. p. 413, and *Atlas Japonensis*, p. 247.

The following is a striking instance of the recrimination to

instinct that lingers in the human breast is that of a superstitious trust in magical virtue, with which, as in the Fetiches of Africa, the fears of the savage will invest the commonest, and even the most loathsome objects. To this feeling the Jesuit missionaries largely addressed themselves; and we may see at once the extreme danger that was thereby incurred, of only supplanting one kind of idolatry by another. How far this result followed will be illustrated presently. But a much more vicious form of this principle soon exhibited itself,—one which we might have discredited, had it not been established on evidence that cannot be gainsayed. It was that which was employed first by Robert à Nobili, when he and his colleagues represented themselves as European Brahmins, adopted¹ the manners, dress, and superstitious rites of that caste, bore the cord of dignity, and the very

which Roman Catholic missionaries are exposed in arguing with idolaters. It is related by a missionary in the *Annales de la Foi*, No. XIV. p. 285, English transl. “ ‘ If there is but one God,’ said I, addressing one of them, who appeared better informed than the others, ‘ what is the meaning of so many figures in stone, wood, and clay, which are to be seen at every step on the roads?’ Instead of answering me, *he showed me a crucifix* that was on the table, and asked me what was the signification of that image . . . I contented myself with telling him, that the crucifix was only a sign which reminded us of what our Lord suffered for us. ‘ With us,’ said he, ‘ all those figures of stone and clay are only signs.’ ” —“ The answer,” adds the missionary, “ was subtle, but not grounded in fact.”

¹ For the whole account of these practices, see Norbert, *Mémoires Historiques*, vol. i. p. 13, &c. See also *Lettres Edif.* vol. x. pp. 46, 62; and *Annales*, vol. iii. p. 51.

mark of idolatry on their forehead,¹ and proclaimed themselves to the Hindoos as having emanated from their deity. Hence followed the forgery of a deed purporting to authenticate their story;² and at a later period that of a Veda, which was exhibited as the Christian's Veda, to be classed with the sacred books of the Hindoos.³ It is altogether shocking to think of the deceptions that were thus unscrupulously practised; as when Lainez proclaimed a false decree of the pope to sanction the well-known rites of Malabar, which had been condemned.⁴ Parallel and contemporaneous with these acts, were the controversies respecting the adoption of the practices and language of the Chinese idolatries.⁵ The worship of ancestors and the appropriation of a term to the Deity which is constantly

¹ Dubois, pp. 5, 6.

² Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 254, London, 1838, note, who quotes Jouvenci, *Histoire des Jésuites*; and Norbert, *Mém. Hist. sur les Missions des Malab.* tom. ii. p. 145.

³ A Dissertation by Mr. Ellis on this fraud is contained in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xiv. See Appendix, No. XXV.

⁴ Norbert, vol. i. p. 213. Cardinal de Journon had, in 1704, issued decrees condemnatory of the Malabar rites, which decrees were confirmed by Pope Clement XI. in 1711. Lainez, Bishop of St. Thomé, who arrived in India at this latter date, backed by a Jesuit priest named Bouchet, solemnly declared that the Pope had, by word, sanctioned the practice of the condemned ceremonies. Clement afterwards issued a brief, exposing the falsehood of this statement, which brief is given in Norbert, vol. i. p. 238.

⁵ The Constitutions of Clement XI. in 1715, "*Ex illa die*," and of Benedict XIV. in 1742, "*Ex quo singulari*," on the subject of these rites, are recited in Norbert, Part iii. pp. 37—45. See Appendix, No. XXVI.

represented as conveying to the Chinese mind merely the idea of a material first cause, were freely allowed and defended; and, in justification, it was maintained that the same acts, though idolatrous in idolaters, ceased to be so in Christians:¹ and thus, by a sophistical refinement, which involved a practical falsehood, the outward religious act was disjoined from the inward, and a mere intention of the mind was substituted, in the worship of God, for the homage both of "body and spirit which are His."

Hence arose, as a part of the same system, a mode of acting, effective perhaps at the moment, but fatal in the end. By the assumption of Brahminical caste, the missionaries were led to despise the lower castes; they refused to eat in the houses of Pariahs, or to administer to them the last rites of the Church of Rome, and forbade their communicating at the same altar with converts of a higher grade.² The sacrament of Baptism, as we should expect, was profaned, by imparting it to the heathen with no sufficient conversion in heart, or even

¹ Norbert, vol. i. p. 409. The principle maintained by the Jesuits was—"On peut permettre quelque chose de superstitieux, afin de parvenir à quelque bonne fin, pourvu que l'intention de celui qui opère ne soit pas de faire un acte superstitieux." "Sous ce faux prétexte," adds the writer, "ces Pères ont toujours prétendu que les rites Chinois étoient innocens, quoiqu'ils soient évidemment faux et superstitieux."

² Norbert, vol. i. pp. 8, 9. So far from caste being opposed, it was viewed as coincident with the institution of the tribes of Israel. *Lettres Edif.* vol. xi. p. 19.

in creed.¹ Hundreds in a day, whole villages at a time, received that holy rite, not in India alone, but in Africa: and even a Pontifical decree was needed to check the administration of holy Baptism to candidates who professed a Christianity still tainted with Paganism.² Past events, I am aware, are chiefly alluded to here;—still, though a more careful method seems generally adopted in heathen lands, there is enough even now to make any one distrust the character of such conversions as are said to be effected.³ Official statements refer, with seeming satisfaction, to baptism being clandestinely administered to Pagan children;⁴ and we are led to ask, Can the impartation

¹ In proof of this assertion, see the striking evidence borne in passages from Joseph Acosta (a Roman Catholic missionary) in Appendix, No. XXVII. For general confirmatory instances of what is mentioned in the next sentence, see *Lettres de Fr. Xavier*, xiv. p. 196; *Lettres Edif.* vol. xi. p. 93; *Annales de la Foi*, vol. xii. pp. 154, 155; *Lettres Edif.* vol. xvii. p. 166, where no provision seems made for the education of the exposed children baptized in multitudes. Some children were seized by force, and baptized at Goa, by order of the viceroy. *Lettres Edif.* vol. x. p. 70. The practice in Africa has been referred to in p. 155, note 3.

² By Alexander VII. *Norbert*, vol. i. p. 566.

³ No notice is here taken of the barbarous conduct pursued, for the conversion of the Mahometans and other natives on the Malabar coast, by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. Mr. Forster justly calls it “a deteriorated revival of the holy wars.” I omit, too, the mention of the Inquisition of Goa; but surely the recollection of these things might have prevented many an idle taunt against Protestant converts as “rice Christians.” See *Mahomedanism Unveiled*, vol. ii. pp. 240, 241: the Roman Catholic testimony of D. Garcias de Silva Figueroa, is quoted in the notes to the volume.

⁴ *Annales*, vol. xii. p. 165.

of such a gift be justifiable, when no provision is made for cherishing it, and keeping it alive? Parents are even bribed to allow their offspring to receive the awful privilege of being joined to Christ's Body;¹ which has been conferred in some years on forty thousand children. And other accounts present us with the fact of adults receiving in sickness the same gift, on the first manifestation of an awakened mind; the doubtful character of which, as indicating a conversion of heart, is well known to all conversant with the cure of souls.² Even now, the Christianity resulting from such a system as this wears all the guise of Paganism. For, hear a missionary of the Roman Church thus speak of India:—"The *Hindoo* pageantry is chiefly seen in the festivals celebrated by the native Christians. These processions in the streets, always performed at night-time, have indeed been to me, at all times, a subject of shame. Accompanied with hundreds of trumpets, and all the discordant noisy music of the country, with numberless torches and fireworks, the statue of the saint placed on a car which is charged with garlands and flowers, and other gaudy ornaments, the car slowly dragged by a multitude,

¹ Annales, vol. i. No. II. p. 71.

² Annales, vol. x. pp. 179, 180; vol. i. No. VI. p. 79. Compare vol. ii. p. 176, and for the superstitious state of mind still lingering in one already baptized, vol. x. p. 170. In this latter case, a woman inquired whether she ought to carry her child on her shoulders, since her back had been *tapu-ed* in baptism: this, says the missionary, is "une preuve que la religion n'est pas seulement à la surface, mais qu'elle a pénétré jusqu'au fond des cœurs!"

shouting all along the march, the congregation surrounding it all in confusion, several of them dancing or playing with small sticks, or with naked swords; all shouting or conversing with one another, without any one exhibiting the least sign of respect or devotion: such is the mode in which Hindoo Christians in the inland country celebrate their festivals.”¹

With such statements as these before us, saddening as they are even to refer to, we cannot wonder if many are attracted to a worship so little differing from their own: and, beyond a doubt, a considerable portion of the success which has been obtained is to be referred to those methods, which must shock every one who contrasts such mere pageantry with the adoration of Him, who is a Spirit, and is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth. We cannot expect such expedients as these to prevail in the end; they can neither lead the heathen to a genuine reception of the faith, nor secure them in the maintenance of it whenever the season of trial comes.

And in illustrating both these points, I would content myself with referring to the authorities already cited. “Can any one be surprised,” says a Capuchin missionary, in the middle of the eighteenth century, “if Christians of this description, and formed according to a spirit so far removed from the precepts of the Gospel, should show so

¹ Dubois, pp. 69, 70.

little attachment to the faith, or firmness in adhering to it; if the attraction of base interest, if the fear of the slightest persecution, should have sufficient power over these mercenary and half-pagan souls, to induce them to return to idolatry?"¹ Nor is the assertion of the Abbé Dubois, during this century, less sorrowful. "It would be some consolation," he says, "if at least a due proportion of them" (*viz.* the neophytes) "were real and unfeigned Christians. But, alas! this is very far from being the case; the by far greater number exhibit nothing but a vain phantom, an empty shade of Christianity. In fact, during a period of twenty-five years that I have familiarly conversed with them, lived among them as their spiritual teacher and spiritual guide, I would hardly dare to affirm that I have met anywhere a sincere Christian."² Again he adds: "Among them are to be found some who believed themselves possessed, and who turned Christians, after being assured that, on receiving baptism, the unclean spirit would leave them, and never return;³ and I will declare it with shame and confusion, that I do not remember any one who may be said to have received Christianity from conviction, and through quite disinterested motives."⁴ After such evidence as this, we cannot

¹ Norbert, vol. i p. 53.

² P. 63.

³ Instances of what is here mentioned by M. Dubois abound in the *Lettres Edif.*, and are recorded with full satisfaction.

⁴ P. 134.

doubt that of Bishop Middleton, on the same subject, who writes: "As to such converts as are made by the Church of Rome, I question whether they might not as well retain the name, with the ignorance, of Pagans;¹ or of Bishop Heber, who found them as ignorant of the commonest truths of Christianity as the Hindoos; and whose remark is thus fully verified, that "they belong to a lower caste, and, in point of knowledge and morality, are said to be extremely inferior."²

And, further, as to the other point, the stability and constancy of such conversions;—evidence is supplied on this head, by the melancholy defections that have frequently characterised the missions of the Roman Church. Though it has been urged in their behalf, that the converts have peculiarly manifested an independence of secular support and encouragement, and a primitive constancy under the severest trials, yet facts do not seem to substantiate either part of this assertion. It is observable that the striking success and failure that marked these missions synchronized with the ascendancy and decline of the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, the two great colonizing powers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the liberal and earnest supporters of the Roman see. Again, the transfer

¹ Life by Le Bas, vol. i. p. 222.

² Journal, vol. iii. p. 460. See Dubois, p. 101.

of Ceylon to the Dutch in 1655¹ was attended by a general defection of the Roman converts; and though it is not intended to assert either the wisdom or the piety of the measures which the government adopted towards that country in regard to religion, yet the fact shows, at least, the instability of the previous conversion of the natives. Or, take the melancholy tales, established by the undoubted testimony of missionaries of the Church of Rome, of the apostasies that have unchristianized whole districts during the terrors of persecution. In 1701² the indiscreet zeal of the Jesuit missionaries in the destruction of idols had drawn down upon the Christians throughout Tanjore the revenge of the native powers. The converts were condemned to the prisons, where, throughout the whole circuit of the province, scarcely one endured to bear the Cross, but multitudes denied the sacred Name into which they had been baptized. Again, at a later period, (1784,)³ the tyrant of Mysore resolved to enforce the creed of the false Prophet throughout his dominions, and directed his first assaults against the hated Christians. Sixty thousand were seized, and ordered to submit to the rite of circumcision; and of that vast multitude not one "had the courage to confess his faith, and become a martyr to his

¹ At this period, Roman Catholic authority informs us, that scarcely a trace of Paganism remained in the island. *Annales*, vol. iii. p. 53.

² Norbert, vol. i. p. 71, &c.

³ Dubois, p. 71.

religion.” “So general a defection,” writes the missionary of the Roman Church, “so dastardly an apostasy, is I believe unexampled in the annals of Christianity.”

It would be unfeeling and unwarrantable to make light of trials so severe as these; yet such defections do at least show that there must have been a want of depth and constancy in the faith of Christians, who so universally failed in the hour of fiery trial, and this, too, not in the very infancy of the propagation of the Gospel, but after the lapse of two centuries from its introduction into the country. Yet truth requires that they should be brought forward, in order to illustrate the fact, that the methods whereby the great, the astonishing successes of the Jesuit missions were gained, could not secure permanency. The subsequent reverses showed how large a portion of the harvest was but as “chaff which the wind scattereth away from the face of the earth,” and that in a great measure both the success and the failure are to be attributed to the same causes, the same vicious principles of conduct.

For, from the faulty methods adopted in gaining converts, arose the scandalous quarrels which threw, not the East alone, but Europe into excitement, and raised a storm of crimination and apology, the sounds of which have scarcely yet died away. Three papal decrees¹ were insufficient wholly to suppress

¹ By Innocent X. in 1645, confirming the decree of the Congregation de Propaganda, at the end of *Lettres des MM. des*

the corrupt practices which had disfigured the Christianity imparted by the missionaries; and which were not discontinued until after the papal legate had been persecuted,¹ and a system of evasion pursued which threw discredit on the Christian name;—until the intercommunion between one order and another had been broken off, and a Jesuit bishop had renounced communion with his fraternity;²—until the decision of the Chinese emperor had been obtained by the missionaries and opposed to the decrees of the pope, and practical unity and Church authority had been altogether destroyed. It was not difficult to foresee the end of such events; the hated order was expelled from almost every country where their missions had existed, from Japan, China, Abyssinia, Paraguay; and with the cessation of the repudiated practices they had used, the missions declined, and seemed robbed of their secret power. We may accurately trace the cause of failure to the suppression of these practices, from which so large a portion of the previous success resulted; and it is satisfactory to observe, that the failure *was* owing to such parts of the system as were of human device, of worldly and culpable

Miss. Etrang. p. 162; by Clement XI. in 1715; and Benedict XIV. in 1742 and 1744.—Norbert, vol. ii. Part iii. p. 37.

¹ Clement XI. excommunicated the Bishop of Macao, by a bull, on account of the injurious treatment of the Cardinal de Tournon, in 1711.—Norbert, vol. i. p. 199. The conduct of the Jesuits towards this prelate is related in *Histoire Abrégée des Jésuites*, Paris, 1820, tom. ii. p. 106.

² Norbert, Pref. p. ii. and pp. 242, 286, vol. i.

policy. God's word did not fail; the truth (as far as it was preached) did "not return void;" the worship of the Church (in so far as the Catholic element was retained) was not ineffectual in attracting the religious affections of men;—but the admixture of profane rites, the corruption of the true faith, brought with them disaster and disappointment. This is testified by papal missionaries; it was urged again and again, that Christianity would sustain a severe shock if these practices were discontinued;¹ the cause of conversion was made to rest upon them;—they ceased, and Christianity did decline. Even now it is distinctly urged that two of the main hindrances to the reception of the Gospel are,—in China, "the worship of ancestors,"²—in India, the unhallowed system of *caste*:³ both of these customs were unrighteously conceded by the Jesuits, and converts were

¹ Grimaldi, visitor of the Jesuits in China, in his letter to the Pope, in 1700, urged, "That if the Chinese Christians are forbid the use of the ceremonies, which are practised in reference to Confucius, and their deceased parents, the Christian religion runs the hazard, on the first accusation, of being banished out of the empire of China." Quoted in Appendix XXII. to Penrose's Bampton Lectures. This apprehension is noticed in the Constitution of Benedict XIV. *ad. fin.* See Norbert, vol. ii. Part iii. p. 71. The vicious practices of Robert à Nobili are urged as the only means of converting the Indians, in a letter from the Jesuit, Père Pierre Martin, *Lettres Edif.* vol. x. p. 72. The discontinuance of these practices, and the discovery of the missionaries as Europeans, are advanced as the cause of conversions ceasing. *Annales de la Foi*, vol. iii. p. 57.

² *Annales*, vol. ii. p. 245.

³ Dubois, p. 81.—The same thing is strongly urged by Indian prelates of the Church of England. See Bishop of Madras's letter, on Caste, in Report of S. P. G. for 1842, p. cxxii.

gained; they were forbidden, and conversions ceased: and therefore we may fairly trace to such unworthy and worse than “legal” compliances, both the rapid success that attended these missionary enterprizes, and their subsequent discomfiture.

That these causes both of success and failure are much less active now, is at once allowed,—and with the mitigation of the corrupt system, a smaller measure of success has been realized. But while an impartial judgment must lead every one reflecting on these things to repudiate such methods in the propagation of the Gospel, and at the same time to see, that to these and not to God’s blessing peculiarly bestowed upon one branch of the Church, the boasted results of its missionary labours are in a large degree to be attributed; we may yet acknowledge and admire the earnest zeal, and self-devotion, and perseverance, which have characterised the men by whom these exertions were made. We may recognise, too, a spirit and discretion in much of the instrumentality that is provided for making them, which we may do well to imitate. In the European seminaries for the training of missionaries,¹ and the acquisition of foreign languages,—in the numerous body which commonly accompanies each mission,²—

¹ Pope Gregory XIII. founded twenty-three such seminaries. Thomas à Jesu de Convers. omn. Gent. p. 111. Clement XI. by bull dated 1707, ordained that seminaries should be attached to the principal monasteries.

² Within the last two years, Dr. Polding returned to Sydney, New South Wales, with the title of “Archbishop,” and was attended by twenty young priests.

in the establishment of sanctuaries and religious houses for the reception of Catechumens, and the education of orphans, and native children,¹—in the preparation of elementary forms of instruction,²—in the community of living, and austerity of habits frequently adopted, we must perceive at once, modes of proceeding which in some countries, as in the East, seem actually needed to ensure any large success, and which the purest Christian wisdom must approve.

Nor can it be denied, notwithstanding the vicious principles which have so largely infected many, and those the most important missions of the Roman Church, that yet a power, and that of no common kind, has been evinced in the prosecution of these enterprizes. There has been a vigour and earnestness exhibited by those who have laboured in that ennobling service, which can be traced to no ordinary motive; and the success that has been obtained in many countries, and the constancy that has been at times displayed by the converts under trying circumstances, indicate a source of influence over the heathen mind, which cannot be traced to those

¹ For these various institutions, see *Annales*, vol. i. No. IV. p. 29. vol. ii. p. 194. and No. LXXXIII. p. 282; *Lettres de Fr. Xavier*, Lettre XI. p. 176, and CXIV. p. 403.

² See the instructions for catechizing given by Fr. Xavier to the catechists in India, Letter LIII. The *method*, not the *substance* of the recommendations is, of course, the point to be observed. Also Letter XC. p. 125, Brussels Edit. His mode of conducting public service on Sunday is contained in Letter XIV. See Appendix, No. XXVIII.

causes to which a large portion of the supposed conversions may be referred. Before dismissing the subject, then, I would advert to two of those principles from which this power may seem to have sprung, and which it cannot but be edifying and instructive to contemplate.

It certainly is a matter of admiration to note the devotion with which, at all times, men endowed with the highest gifts have been ready, in the communion of Rome, to consecrate themselves to these enterprizes. And whence has this sprung? Whence has it arisen, that men have not been wanting to bear living witness among the heathen to the reality of the faith which they profess, and to hazard all in preaching it? Whence has arisen that self-surrender, and spirit of confidence which has distinguished them,¹ and which of all moral qualities has perhaps the most efficacy in persuading and influencing the minds of others? There is one source to which we may refer it,—the spirit of obedience. For what is the one condition of attaining the highest excellence? Is it not the acting in conformity with an external law? Is it not to be found in looking out from self for the apprehension

¹ *E. g.*—for to multiply instances would be useless: *Lettres Edif.* vol. xvii. p. 430, “L’unique grace que je vous demande, c’est de me donner tout ce qu’il y aura de plus pénible, et de plus mortifiant dans la mission,” &c. &c. Another writes, “J’aurois souhaité que vous ne m’eussiez pas laissé le choix, d’aller en l’une ou en l’autre des deux missions; mais que vous m’eussiez déterminé. Je n’ai quitté la France que pour obéir à Dieu,” &c. &c.

of truth, and in shaping the individual will to a supreme will authoritatively made known to us? Is it not true that the noblest and most heroic achievements have been prompted by some impulse, real or supposed, impressing the soul from without, and awakening a responsive inward conviction, against which the will dares not rebel? Hence arises a readiness to engage in great services,—hence a true confidence, and unflinching steadfastness, freedom from the doubts that at times harass the mind which reposes on its own decision;—and more than all, perhaps, the comfort and sustaining power which spring from the performance of duty. It was this strength of an obedient will, this allegiance to recognised rule, that nerved the devotion of those whose footsteps were over the whole world, pressing the deserts of Tartary and the sands of Africa. It is this temper that actuates their followers now in the same career. And to the same obedience, not capriciously vowed to self-chosen authority, but reposed in the Church and in her commission to send, we must look for a revival of a similar spirit of faith and devotion, which, on her summons to arise and execute the great work, which her supreme Head has commanded her to accomplish, will enable men to suffer the loss of all things, that the name of the Lord Jesus may be glorified among the heathen.

And lastly; it was but the working of the same principle, which led to that powerful influence

which was undoubtedly exerted in winning many a soul from its vain idolatries, viz. the exhibition of the Church before the heathen as of a body called to suffer for Christ's sake. We may deem the self-vowed poverty, which distinguishes some religious fraternities, to be over-strained, and even opposed to the spirit of the Gospel; we may believe, too, that it is needful to array the Church of Christ in the influence which belongs to station, that so it may gain access to the high places, and to the great of this world. Still, among the most solemn and affecting truths which are written in the Gospel, is that of Christians suffering, and winning others by suffering,—“bearing about the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus may be made manifest.”

It is not a subject of mere surmise, but of uniform experience, that the endurances of Christians, the self-sacrifice they have evinced for the sake of winning souls, have prevailed more in gaining converts throughout all ages, than the arguments of reason, or the calculations of temporal benefit. The weak things of the world have been the strong things of Christ. Nor can we wonder at this. It is when thus exhibited that the Gospel appears in its true character. It shows itself as bearing the remedy for man's wants,—as sympathizing with the sorrowful and destitute,—as the comforter under earthly privation,—as supplying a compensation for the inequalities of this life,—as having a blessing irrespective of outward lot, nay, belonging peculiarly

to those who are in want and weariness,—as establishing a kingdom “not of this world.” It was this character,¹ which the most eminent of those whose labours have been reviewed, undoubtedly presented to the heathen, and as by a natural attraction won to themselves the sympathies of men. We wonder, we justly wonder, how it was that, in some lands, in Japan for instance,² though the acquaintance of the converts with the truths of Christ’s Gospel was certainly very imperfect and corrupt, yet in the hour of persecution, many, nay hundreds, were found willing to shed their blood for the faith, and to yield their bodies to be burned. It was, they had been instructed that to this lot they were called in Christ, should God so order it; that if they suffered, they should “also reign with him.”³ Therefore no strange thing seemed to happen to them; they had embraced the Cross; they were prepared to find it sharp,—to find it, in the end, the instrument of their own death. This expectation kept them steadfast. In the suffering members of His Church,

¹ See a noble speech of Fr. Xavier’s, in Dryden’s *Life*, p. 174. “If I should happen to die by their hands, who knows but all of them might receive the faith? For it is most certain that, since the primitive times of the Church, the seed of the Gospel has made a larger increase in the fields of paganism, by the blood of martyrs, than by the sweat of missionaries,” &c. &c.

² The account of the terrible persecution in this island, is detailed in the *Atlas Japonensis*, by Arnoldus Montanus. And for a curious instance of the way in which young converts were inured to pain and suffering, see Appendix, No. XXIX.

³ 2 Tim. ii. 12.

they had seen Christ as He was in the flesh, “a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief;” they had seen Him pierced and His brow encircled with a crown of thorns, and so they were enabled to endure and “rejoice in tribulation.” The patient fortitude of those who had come and preached the Gospel to them, and who went about frequently not having where to lay their heads, in sickness and weariness, in poverty and pain, attracted the heathens’ heart, and taught them to suffer too. For is there not a hidden charm, a mysterious virtue, in exhibiting to the world, through the medium of the members of His suffering Body, the image of Christ crucified? Was not this the secret of much of their moral power, whose almost miraculous efforts have gained them the name of apostles among the heathen? And wherever we see this willing devotion, must we not do it honour? Nay, must it not lead us, if we would profit by the conviction, most humbly to ask, however unworthy any individual may be to do so, Where is this spirit amongst us? We have seen men of zeal, and simplicity, and power, and truth, (and we may bless their memories,) issue from our Church, and from this University, to carry the word of life among distant idolaters; but hardly has this feature, this peculiar feature, of Christ’s presence been lifted up as an ensign before the heathen, —His suffering. Hardly has there been that spirit which reckons the going forth to die with Christ its

noblest service, and suffering for Him its highest glory. Yet if the Church of England is to be the instrument of subduing and drawing the souls of heathen to Christ, her faithful members must learn of her this spirit. Among the many things which we may desire, this is among the chiefest. And, certainly, if God deal mercifully with this His Church; if He design her to be the instrument in accomplishing those great deeds, which are opening before us to be done, He will in His own time raise fit instruments, and stir the hearts of men of high aims and holy ambition, to place themselves at her service, to go wherever she bids and reap wherever a harvest is to be gathered in. For surely here the great law of vicarious suffering finds most largely its application. It is a law of our very natural being,—it forms the essence of real Christian charity,—it shone forth as the basis of atoning Love in the great work of Salvation: and, therefore, in communicating this Redemption to his fellow-man, in being a fellow-worker with his Lord, man must be content to labour under the overshadowing influence of the Cross of suffering,—must himself suffer if he would bless,—and “lose his” own “life” that the life of others may be found.

LECTURE VI.

MISSIONS SINCE THE REFORMATION.

PART II.

MATT. V. 14, 15.

YE ARE THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD. A CITY THAT IS SET ON A HILL CANNOT BE HID. NEITHER DO MEN LIGHT A CANDLE, AND PUT IT UNDER A BUSHEL, BUT ON A CANDLESTICK; AND IT GIVETH LIGHT UNTO ALL THAT ARE IN THE HOUSE.

As universality is a property of the Gospel, so (if the distinction may be made) expansiveness is a token of the Church of Christ: and for this reason the image of light and of a candle is so commonly used in Scripture to represent, as in the text, both the one and the other. So that thus much we must conclude respecting any portion of the Church; if, after due trial, it fail of diffusing its light abroad, a light that may be recognised and felt, then, *so far forth*, it is without the mark of being of that One Body which Christ has instituted and endowed with power for this purpose; it is deficient in the conditions and requirements needful for fulfilling the command, "Go ye into all the world, and preach

the Gospel to every creature," and for claiming the promise which is certainly attached to the execution of this duty.

Acknowledging this principle, and applying it to the subject before us, we now turn from the review last made of the missions of the Church of Rome, to similar efforts made since the Reformation, first, by the Church of England, and secondly, by various bodies into which reformed Christendom has been broken up and crumbled.

For, as is well known, among the many taunts directed equally against all who have protested against the corruption and usurpation of Rome, this is one, viz. that Christianity, as professed by them, has lost its expansive power; that it is pent up within just those limits, to which, by the first convulsive effort that cast aside the Papal yoke, it was borne; that, since then, it has even receded; that the attempts made to bear it among the heathen, and gather them within the Church, have been abortive, and have utterly failed. Again, it is urged, that this is owing not to want of endeavour, nor to want of means, but to what is called the Protestant Rule of Faith; while such successes as are acknowledged (and but very few are noticed) are attributed to merely secondary causes, such as the use of force, or the influence of civilization, or the support of the civil power.¹

¹ *Annales*, vol. ii. p. 63, note. Dr. Wiseman's Lectures, Lect. vi. p. 193. In regard to the last-named point, the very review that

Such a charge, if substantiated, would be most serious, and the truth of it will be tested in the present Lecture. We may say at the outset, however, that, in its sweeping indiscriminate censure, it is untenable. We may maintain, in the first place, that even the defective and frequently unwise efforts of unauthorized bodies to extend the Gospel, have not been without some fruit bearing witness to their acceptance of God; secondly, that the sterility which, on the whole, we must confess, has attended the missionary labours connected with our Church, is not traced, nor traceable, to a supposed Rule of Faith above alluded to, but is explicable on other grounds;—and lastly, that the method commonly adduced as the practical working of that Rule, viz. the indiscriminate distribution of the Bible, is not adopted, or recognised, by the Church, nor is it that upon which she expects the blessing of God to descend in converting the nations of the heathen to the faith.

Before entering on the details which I shall have to set before you, a few words must be said on the startling fact, which might seem to furnish ground

has been taken will show that Roman Catholic missions always received the greatest support from the government of the countries from which they issued, such as Portugal, Spain, and France; and have been largely indebted for their success to this circumstance; while it is equally indisputable that Protestant governments, as such, have generally neglected to assist, nay, have, in some cases, (as will appear,) discountenanced the efforts of missionaries. The causes of this opposite conduct might be readily traced, and would deserve consideration.

for the charge that has been mentioned, that it was not till after a long interval that any attempt was made, or anxiety evinced, by the Reformed Church of England, for the extension of the Gospel and the salvation of the heathen. This note of an Apostolic Church seemed indeed, for a time, to be wanting to us. Day after day, in its evening hymn, the prayer was offered as a witness against succeeding generations, that God would make known His way upon earth, His "saving health unto all nations." And still generations passed away, and no heart nor hand seemed stirred to the work. We cannot help asking why it has been so, and endeavouring to ascertain the cause of so humbling a fact. And on a retrospect, there are many circumstances which go, if not to justify, at least to explain it. The outbreak of the Reformation isolated the English Church and the reformed continental bodies from the vast system with which they had been bound up. They were thrown suddenly on their own resources. Numberless duties pressed upon them at once, of which they were unable to compass the range, or provide the means necessary for their discharge. They had to create anew, to build up, to fix their principles, define their rights, and ascertain the relations in which they stood to one another and to the temporal power. And yet they had not entirely mastered their own or one another's principles. The sympathy and union which had

been strong enough for them to break from Rome, was not sufficiently close to enable them to reconstruct, and to draw out, a system of their own ; to develop it on defined laws of action, with unity of conduct and of object. Two principles seem mainly to have predominated in the measures adopted by the reformers of our Church ; and these they were diligent in carrying out,—the Christian life of the nation on the one hand, and of the individual on the other ; with these alone they were occupied, and by these their views, for the time, were bounded. Their own immediate difficulties, too, soon engaged their thoughts. When the depths of society are once broken up, it is not until after a long lapse of time, and many heavings to and fro, that they can settle down again in peace and order. Thus internal strifes and gainsayings, hostilities from without fomented by Rome, and perplexities from within, exhausted the energies of Christian men during the reigns of Elizabeth and James ; and for 150 years no definite attempt was encouraged for extending the Church into the distant wilderness of the world. Thoughts, indeed, and crude proposals were entertained from time to time, but they serve only to bear witness to the state of unripeness in which Christians found themselves to enter upon so high a work of evangelical duty and enterprise. In 1556, a body of preachers issued from Geneva, under the joint direction of Calvin and the French minister Coligni, for the

purpose of establishing their system of Christianity on the continent of Brazil, and among the savage natives.¹ But the expedition was marked by a signal and distressing failure. Again, a scheme to rival the Roman Propaganda was devised by Cromwell, but was never realized.² Nor in our Church was the spirit of missionary enterprize dead, though it lay dormant for a while, or burnt feebly in the secret aspirations of individuals. The influence and energy of the truly noble Robert Boyle were exerted for the propagation of the Gospel in India and America, which object he aided by his munificence;³ but still nothing systematic was attempted. Again, a kindred philosophic mind in Bishop Berkeley bent its powers towards the conversion of the American Indians; and the fairest scheme that was ever devised for the execution of this purpose was prepared by him, and urged by his own personal devotion and toil, but it met with coldness and repulse, and it fell.⁴

Still, even prior to the last event, the close of the sixteenth century saw an onward move towards the

¹ Brown's History of Missions, vol. i. pp. 3—9.

² Burnet's History of his Own Time, vol. i. p. 132. Oxford, 1823. See Appendix, No. XXX.

³ He was at the expense of publishing the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, in the Malay language, which were printed at Oxford in 1677; and he left at his death, the sum of 5400*l.* for the propagation of Christianity among infidel and unenlightened nations.—Brown, vol. ii. p. 714.

⁴ See Proposal for converting the savage Americans to Christianity. Berkeley's Works, 4to. vol. ii. p. 421; and Brown, vol. ii. p. 715.

resumption, by the Church, of this neglected function, in the formation of "the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." It partook, however, of the character just assigned to the principles on which religious men generally acted, and within which their views were narrowed. For although it contemplated the diffusion of Christianity in all those parts of the world in which any colony or factory of Great Britain had been established, yet the salvation of the heathen was only in a secondary degree its concern. It was defensive, and was rather engaged in Christianizing a temporal dominion, than in extending the kingdom of Christ. Yet it claims our thankful regard, since, for a century, in conjunction with the kindred Institution "for Promoting Christian Knowledge," it bore witness in our land, when none else did, that the Church had a thought for the heathen; and, of later days, through the wonderful extension of our colonial empire, its sphere of action has expanded, and reaches to almost every portion of the Pagan world.

Of the same national character were the missions established by the Dutch during the seventeenth century, in Ceylon and the islands of the Indian seas, Java, Amboyna, and Formosa, in which they had planted colonies. The Holy Scriptures were dispersed with zeal, and a considerable number of the natives were gained over; but in each of the three latter islands the mission ceased with

the temporal dominion of the Dutch, and Christianity seems to have disappeared from them, or to exist only in a state of great corruption.¹ Again, in 1705, Frederic IV. of Denmark was moved to found a mission on the coast of Coromandel, and afterwards, in 1721, at the instigation of that zealous and enterprising missionary, Hans Egede, on the shores of Greenland. The latter of these is rendered eminent by the sufferings of the first missionaries, and by the devoted continuance of their labours by the Moravians, who have at least shown, by their power over the rude natives of these inhospitable climes, that no condition of human nature is beyond the reach of the transforming power of the Gospel. The former is signalized by the successes of Ziegenbalg, Schultze, and Schwartz, whose labours, inherited and extended by Societies acting within our own Church, opened one of the most hopeful fields in the East for the propagation of the faith.

But amidst the growing consciousness of obligation towards the heathen, the Moravians (in 1731) rose up to exhibit a pattern of devotion and godly enterprize which no subsequent efforts have at all equalled. Regard them either in their spirit of self-sacrifice, or in their well-concerted plans and system of action, and they not only show what a

¹ Brown, vol. i. pp. 26, 30, 31.

vigorous and faithful resolve can effect, but illustrate the causes of their own success, and of our failure. Driven by persecution from Moravia, and hunted into mountain-caves, and forests, where they held their nightly assemblies by stealth, the diminished and suffering band sought at last in Saxony a refuge from Papal persecution. But scarcely had they secured a resting-place, when this body of six hundred exiles, with the first returning sense of safety, cast their thoughts towards the heathen world; and though a mere handful in numbers, yet with the spirit of men banded for daring and righteous deeds, they formed the heroic design, and vowed the execution of it before God, of bearing the Gospel to the savage and perishing tribes in Greenland and the West Indies, of whose condition report had brought a mournful rumour to their ears. And so, literally with “neither bread nor scrip,” they went forth on their pilgrimage; and incredible as it sounds, within ten years they had established missions in the islands of the West Indies, in South America, Surinam, Greenland, among the North American tribes, in Lapland, Tartary, Algiers, Guinea, the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon.¹ Their success will be mentioned presently. In some districts, indeed, the work failed in their hands: yet in others, the field of their operations

¹ Missions of the United Brethren, Introduction.

has been enlarged ; and we might well feel shame if we withheld our sympathy from men who still burn with the same spirit, still toil in the same harvest-field of souls. In the West Indies, North and South America, Labrador, Greenland, and South Africa, they now maintain fifty-eight missions, tended by 262 labourers ; and though the number of their body is said not much to exceed 10,000, they yet reckon above 57,000 among the heathen, who are either converted, or are receiving at their hands instruction in the Gospel.¹

These were the preparations for a more general movement, chiefly among the Protestant bodies in this land. In 1792, the “Baptist Missionary Society” was formed, and was followed three years later by the “London Society” for the same purpose, conducted chiefly by the Independents. In the following year the Scotch Association was instituted ; and in 1800, several individuals within the Church originated the present “Church Missionary Society” for Christianizing the heathen in Africa and the East. In 1817, again, the Wesleyan Association was consolidated : and, besides these various bodies, several others, many of them in America, and most of minor importance, have been formed, and pursue the same object, each carrying its peculiar principles and tenets among Europeans and natives in different parts of the globe.

¹ Report for 1841, p. 53.

And what success has attended these sadly desultory and conflicting efforts to extend the Gospel, and bring mankind into obedience to Christ? It is indeed a melancholy reflection, that, from our shores, Christianity should go forth, not in one shape, but in shapes as multifarious as individual conviction and zeal can make them,—that all our dissensions should be propagated and reproduced among the heathen; that the gift of God, designed to be the healer of the nations, the harbinger and source of peace, should become the spring of strife and debate; that the pagan mind, just awakening to the truth, should have that truth presented to it in manifold forms, and when disposed to look out from itself to receive the counsel of God, should sometimes be thrown back on its own judgment to choose which system it will embrace. Christianity suffers by all this; it must suffer; we must be prepared for failures; we must be prepared for enemies to confound together the operations of all these associations, whether within or without the Church; to impute the faults of each to all, and attribute the failures of any portion of them to a general withholding of God's blessing from any missionary labours thus undertaken and directed. Let me again repeat, that were this indeed true, there would be deep cause for alarm. In proceeding, therefore, to review such successes as seem unquestionable, and

in which we cannot but recognise God's blessing upon labours undertaken for His sake, let me endeavour to point out the causes of comparative failure, with such tokens for good as may appear,—and so to open the way for the eduction of such principles as the facts seem to illustrate, which may exhibit the laws of God's dealing in the extension of the Gospel, and may guide and encourage His Church in the prosecution of its appointed work.

I turn then at once to the wide field of India; the scene of much discouragement and much hope. Above a century has elapsed since the first Danish missionary set foot on its soil, and confronted that monstrous and shapeless mass of superstition by which it is overshadowed. It was indeed an unequal contest. Two or three strangers were stationed at Tranquebar, on the outskirts of that vast continent,¹ powerless and defenceless, to assail a mighty and organized system of two thousand years' duration. Almost from the moment of their entering in, incessant wars devastated every province. Christians, who should have been living epistles of Christ, and have preached Him by their lives, showed themselves the servants of sin rather than of God. Christian governments discountenanced Christianity, and attached civil incapacities

¹ Ziegenbalg and Plutcho were sent by Frederic IV. king of Denmark, in 1705.—Niecampii Historia Miss. in Ind. Orient. p. 3.

to converted heathens ;¹ and even in later years, the first Anglican bishop was by stealth inducted into his spiritual domain,² through a faithless fear of offending heathen prejudice. Such was, and has been, the paralyzing discouragement against which the Gospel has had to make its way. Yet, in a considerable degree, it has advanced. We may turn to the days of Schwartz. That sterling and devoted man of God was engaged for nearly half a century³ in preaching the Gospel, and is said to have converted seven thousand natives.⁴ Considering the scantiness of the means at his command, we might be quite content with the knowledge that, at his death, he left behind him this spiritual offspring in the field of his missionary labour. But since then, during the present century, that field

¹ *Extract from Regulations of the Madras Government, 1816 :—* “ The Zilla Judges shall recommend to the Provincial Courts the persons whom they may deem fit for the office of District Moonsif ; but no person shall be authorized to officiate as a District Moonsif, without the previous sanction of the Provincial Court, *nor unless he be of the Hindoo or Mahometan persuasion.*” (Heber’s Journal, vol. iii. p. 463, note.) The Bishop likewise relates,— “ About twenty people were present ; one, the ‘ naick,’ or corporal, whom, in consequence of his embracing Christianity, Government very absurdly, not to say wickedly, disgraced, by removing him from his regiment, though they still allow him his pay.”—Vol. ii. p. 280.

² Le Bas’s Life of Middleton, vol. i. p. 76.

³ His missionary labours extended from 1750 to 1798.

⁴ In one year of his active ministry (1775), it is stated that at two of the stations which he superintended, Tranquebar and Trichinopoly, the *increase* of members in the congregation, including the children of converts and proselytes from the Roman Catholics, amounted to 627. Brown’s Hist. vol. i. p. 192.

has greatly enlarged itself, and it may be said, that the “little one” has “become a thousand.” The missions then established by him have been continued by societies in this country, and have largely increased.¹ It is well known that Bishop Heber computed the number of converts in Southern India, in 1826, at 15,000.² This calculation has been disputed, and has been broadly stigmatized as being “very much too great.”³ Yet the only evidence adduced in disproof of it, is the fact of the Bishop having confirmed fifty natives at one station, and fifteen at another! And as a very unfair representation is based upon this calculation, I must be permitted to say at once that instead of being “very much too great,” it was certainly not above, and, in all probability, much below the actual number. I forbear to trouble you here with the exact details in support of this assertion.⁴ I will content myself with saying, that official returns, made two years before, represented the converts in connexion with the Church as exceeding the computation of Bishop Heber, which is moreover confirmed by collateral evidence; and, further, that had the missions of other bodies been included, the calculation of Protestant converts, even at that period, should have been raised at the least to 23,000, the

¹ In 1812, on the coast of Coromandel alone, they were reckoned (including children) at 16,000. Brown, vol. i. p. 230.

² Journal, vol. iii. p. 460.

³ Wiseman's Lectures, VI. p. 175.

⁴ See, however, Appendix, No. XXXI.

number certified three years before, in Parliamentary evidence, by a missionary, as the result of his personal knowledge. And since those days, the progress has been decisive. Tinnevely became, in 1828, the scene of a considerable movement, and many heathen were led to receive the Gospel. Let me refer to recent events. The difficulty in obtaining reports of the older missions of Tanjore and Trichinopoly, prevents the possibility of any accurate statement being made respecting them.¹ At Vepery, however, a mission founded by Schultze, in 1728, and supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, twenty-two native adults

¹ No one, who has not tried it, can imagine the difficulty of arriving at exact conclusions in regard to missionary successes, as detailed in Reports, partly from defective returns, partly from unsystematic and diversified modes of classifying the individuals under instruction. *E.g.* In the Reports of the Church Missionary Society, which are the fullest, the common classification of the natives, in connexion with the missions, is into "communicants" and "attendants on public worship;" but whether any, or how many of the latter are baptized, there are no means of guessing; for besides, or amongst these latter, some are mentioned as "inquirers," "candidates for baptism," "hearers," but whether these are all in the same class, or how they are to be reckoned, is uncertain. Instances of all these titles occur in the Forty-first Report. Of course other Societies have another classification. It is very much to be wished that some such certain division were adopted as prevailed in early days, into baptized, catechumens, hearers; we might then know in what state the converts mentioned in the Reports might be understood to be. The Moravians approach most nearly to the original system; they distribute their members into the "baptized," "candidates for baptism," (catechumeni), and "new people," (audientes); they have likewise a subordinate class of "excluded," corresponding exactly with the ἐξωθούμενοι, or penitentes. See Bingham, b. x. ch. ii. sect. 2.

were baptized in 1838.¹ The Bishop of Madras, in his visitation, two years ago, (1841,) speaks of meeting with whole Christian villages in the Tinnevelly district.² He states that lately 3000 had been added to the Church;³ and that in four stations alone he had confirmed 1500 native converts.⁴ Without mentioning the Dissenting Associations,—(one of which, however, is said to have 10,000 natives *under instruction* in the Province of Travancore,⁵)—take only these facts, together with the statement, that in connexion with the Church Missionary Society there are nearly 7000 baptized converts, and above 19,000 receiving more or less instruction;⁶ and we must conclude, that a wide and effectual door has been opened in Southern India for the Gospel of Jesus Christ. We may believe, as the prelate of that diocese assures us, that “the Gospel is as surely there as it is in England, and may be preached there, with as saving effect to tens of thousands, as it is already preached to thousands.”⁷

This is no insulated instance. In the northern province of Bengal, a stirring of men’s hearts to the

¹ Report of the Missionaries of the S. P. G. Madras, 1839.

² Charge, quoted in S. P. G. Quarterly Paper, No. XIX. p. 10.

³ Report of S. P. G. 1842, p. 117.

⁴ In 1842. The four stations were in the Tinnevelly district, Report, C. M. S. 1842, p. 70.

⁵ On the authority of the Secretary of the London Missionary Society.

⁶ Communicated by the Secretary of the C. M. S. The Report was made up to the 31st of December, 1841.

⁷ Letter in Report of S. P. G., 1841, p. 154.

reception of the Gospel, similar to that witnessed in Southern India,—perhaps more extraordinary from the obscurity in which its origin is veiled—is preparing the way for larger results. At Barhipûr and Krishnaghur, both of them missions in connexion with the Church, whole villages seem to awake almost simultaneously, and demand to be instructed in the truth, and to put on Christ in Baptism. At Barhipûr, but few signs of any spread of the Gospel showed themselves before the accession of the Rev. C. E. Driberg, as a resident missionary, in 1835. From that time, converts have been gathered into the Church; in 1838, the number of the baptized amounted to 131; of catechumens, to 235. Three years later, (in 1841,) there were, of baptized, 472, of catechumens, 517; so that a congregation of nearly 1000 was collected, exclusive of many (above 200,) who were inquiring after “this way,” and of such unworthy catechumens as were excommunicate.¹ And recent reports confirm the expectation of increase.² At Krishnaghur, it would seem as if the seed scattered on the ground by

¹ Report of Rev. Professor Street in S. P. G. Report, 1842, p. lxx.

² Bishop of Calcutta's Charge for 1842: “In the villages of the Propagation Society about Jangera and Barhipûr, 1200 have been admitted to holy baptism, who, with 1300 catechumens, constitute a body of 2500 under Christian instruction; of these, 370 were candidates for confirmation when I visited the station last February.”—P. 18. An accurate return, made up to July 1843, and recently received, states the number of converts to have considerably increased. At Barhipûr, the baptized amount to 627, the catechumens to 606. The increase in the neighbouring stations is equally large.

missionaries, accustomed forty years back to travel through the district, had suddenly taken root and sprung up,—as if the leaven secretly hidden had begun to ferment through the whole lump. A few pilgrims, as it were, came first for instruction ; these carried the tidings back to their native villages ; and shortly after, messengers from forty and sixty miles distant flocked to see what was “ come to pass there in these days.” In one year, (1839,) on the visits of the Archdeacon and the Bishop of Calcutta, 980 heathen were baptized, which increased the number of converts to 1420 ; in the year following, (1840,) the baptized were again increased to 2000 ; and 3000 more were preparing for the laver of regeneration.¹

Here, then, are certainly converts of no ambiguous character ; not influenced by interest, or by alliance with Europeans,—not outcasts from Hindooism, or from the Roman communion, but, through the concurrent causes of inward conviction and the offer of the Truth, stirred by God’s grace to seek and receive salvation in Christ ;—not hastily baptized, but after patient instruction ;—and not ineffectually sealed with the spirit of grace, since in the hour of trial which has come upon them even already, neither the spoiling of their goods, nor oppression, nor much personal suffering, has prevailed on them to deny

¹ See the Bishop of Calcutta’s Letters to the Earl of Chichester, President of the C. M. S., published separately by the Society, and the Society’s Report for 1840—1841, p. 64.

their profession, or grow weary of His service who bought them with His own blood.¹

From hence I now turn to the Western hemisphere, with the view of ascertaining what success has been vouchsafed to the missionary enterprizes undertaken amongst the more or less savage and idolatrous aborigines of its vast continent. It seems indeed as if some curse rested on the natives of North and South America, since tribe after tribe has faded away, till they are now almost extinct, before the scourge of European aggression. And certainly we must charge it largely to the avaricious system of plunder and cruelty that marked the earlier European intercourse with that new world, that its unhappy tribes have presented no permanent fruit of the labours that would, and alone could, have blessed and preserved them. Even from the first there were not wanting, among the emigrants to North America, men desirous of

¹ Letter from the Bishop of Calcutta, quoted in C. M. S. Report, 1841—1842, p. 60. "A fierce persecution has begun to show itself in many parts of the mission, chiefly about Amunda Bas, and Baht Gatchee, which has occasioned great anxiety to the missionaries. An inquirer of only a fortnight's standing, yet accounted as a Christian, was so beaten in one of these assaults, that he died of the injuries he received." Yet it was during these scenes that the number of converts and catechumens still increased, p. 58.

The Bishop of Madras records likewise of the Tinnevely mission, that, "a persecution had been stirred up against the Christians, so that the missionaries were obliged to guard their houses; yet not one baptized native has been known to fall away."—S. P. G. Report, 1842, p. cxvi.

imparting the gift of the Gospel to the savage yet noble tribes of Indians who possessed its forests and fertile valleys. From the middle of the seventeenth to the same period in the eighteenth century, the labours of Elliot, the two Mayhews, and David Brainerd, fully proved how much the disinterested and self-denying devotion of men bent on doing God's work could gain on the simple and reverent affections of those uncivilized natives. The method pursued by Elliot seems to have been, while he instructed the Indians in the knowledge of the Great Spirit, to introduce among them the arts of civilization,¹ and to collect them into villages; and in the space of about twenty-five years, he had formed fourteen of these settlements.² A similar success attended the other missionaries; and it is remarkable how readily the natives seem, in some instances, to have laid aside their more evil and pernicious customs, under the influence of the higher knowledge which they perceived in their instructors. We have to observe, however, in regard to their success, first, that no intercourse existed at this time between the natives and the colonists, so that the former were kept free from the contamination of European vice;³ and secondly, that the whole benefit that was imparted depended solely on the individual teacher:—no means of *perpetuating*

¹ Brown, vol. i. p. 37.

² Ibid. vol. i. p. 44.

³ As was the case with the first Roman Catholic missions, the success of which, as has been noticed, was so remarkable.

his work was provided, so that, on the removal of each labourer, the converts declined,¹ and almost every trace of their former Christianity disappeared.

A similar but more organized mode of conversion was adopted in South America, by that devoted and simple body of men already named, the Moravians. The first settlements of these missionaries in Berbice and Surinam, in 1738, resembled the Reductions of the Jesuits in Paraguay. The missionaries, shunning the contact of the ungodly Europeans, threw themselves among the Indians, conversed with them, taught them the mechanical arts,² and gathered them into small settlements. After a short period, wherever the missionaries presented themselves, the savages would collect in circles round these servants of Christ, and listen with the deepest silence and interest to the lessons of salvation. In the space of eight years, 367 natives were baptized.³ The jealousy of Europeans, joined to the insurrections among the slave negroes, drove the missionaries from station to station, and scattered their flocks. The missions, however, notwithstanding many reverses, are still maintained among the free negroes, into whose hands the territory has passed, and above 7000 converts, either baptized or catechumens, are reckoned among the fruits of these Christian labours.⁴

¹ See Appendix, No. XXXII.

² Missions of the United Brethren, p. 272.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Report of Moravian Missions, 1811, pp. 52, 53.

A like method was pursued by the same body in their missions amidst the desolate regions of Greenland and Labrador. These were among the very earliest efforts of this remarkable brotherhood to reclaim the heathen from their state of degradation; and they still flourish, and present a very beautiful contrast,—even in the *existence* of the natives under the beneficent direction of Christian men,—to the process of extermination which has swept away neighbouring tribes in their intercourse with European colonists. They offer, too, an instructive lesson in the evidence which they bear to the power of Christianity, not lowered and debased by amalgamation with Pagan customs, but in its naked simplicity, to move and elevate minds even of the lowest stamp. No experiment could be more complete than that made among the Greenlanders and Esquimaux; and we have a witness that the God of all grace has not withheld a blessing from the zeal of His servants, who have sought to do Him honour, in the simple worship that even now, together with our own more solemn sacrifice, rises week after week to our common Saviour, from the lips of 3000 converts among the snow-huts of the Northern wilds.¹

Nor has the degraded race of Ham been excluded from “a place and a name” within the walls of the house of God; but throughout nearly the whole extent of the western coast of Africa, and on the borders of its unexplored interior, some

¹ See Missions of the United Brethren, and the Report for 1841.

“sons of the stranger” have been “joined to the Lord.” Hateful as has been the mass of guilt and of misery entailed by the traffic in slaves, yet one benefit at least has, by God’s mercy, been educaed from it. Many of its unhappy victims have been brought into contact with Christian truth, and born again in their bonds. The result of Christian instruction, not from our Church alone, but from many Protestant sects, has been witnessed in the very general conversion of the vast slave population in the British West Indies. And to nothing else but the controlling and softening power of the Gospel, even upon the negro mind, can we attribute the striking scene that was exhibited on the emancipation of that long-enslaved race; when, in the words of the Bishop to whose oversight they were subject, “800,000 human beings lay down at night as slaves, and rose again in the morning free as ourselves.” And yet there was no outburst of public feeling, “no gathering that affected the civil peace. There was a gathering, indeed, but it was a gathering together of old and young in the house of the common Father of all.” Among the multitude whom the Bishop addressed on that day, “were thousands,” he adds, “of my African brethren joining with their European brother in offering up their prayers and thanksgivings to the Father, the Redeemer, and Sanctifier of all.”¹

¹ Account of the Emancipation of the Negroes as stated by the Bishop of Barbados; quoted in the S.P.G. Quarterly Paper, No. XIX. p. 7.

This great effect, I am aware, may be largely attributed by some to the power of example, to removal from native idolatry, and to incorporation into European modes of social life. And therefore, to show that the work of conversion has proceeded even without these collateral aids, I would refer briefly to the success that has rewarded the toil of the Moravians, amid the glens and barren plains of Southern Africa, among the Caffres, Hottentots, and Fingoes. The mission was commenced in these wild tracts in 1736, but the jealousy of the Dutch Government caused its suspension after six years, and for half a century the small congregation was entirely deserted by Christian instructors. It was revived, however, in 1792; and to exhibit the progress that has been made since that period, I would observe that in 1816, in two stations only, congregations of Hottentots were collected to the number of above 1500 souls;¹ and if we compare this statement with later returns, the increase has been marked and decisive. The number of stations has been increased to seven;—nearly 5000 heathen have been gathered into congregations, of whom about three-fourths are baptized. A zealous labourer in this work, shortly before his death, had to report, that in one station, and within one year, above 130 had been received to holy baptism, and was enabled to cheer his dying hour with the

¹ See Missions of the United Brethren, p. 419.

prospect of a wider extension of the Gospel of grace.¹

But I cannot dismiss this review without some notice of the extensive movement which has of late occurred in the islands of the South Pacific. Since the year 1796, the London Missionary Society has maintained a considerable number of teachers in the groups of the Society Islands, for the conversion of the natives. Throughout a long period their labours met with no success.² Of later years, however, chiefly through the enterprize of one man of much energy and singleness of purpose,—well calculated too, by his skill in the manual arts, to attract the mind of the savage,—whole clusters of islands, and many thousand natives, have at once cast away their idols, and embraced the Gospel. Immediately after one island had been gained, and the benefits derived from the adoption of civilized habits, and from the merciful doctrines of Christianity,³ had been witnessed, it appears that others followed in the train. But the very readiness with which the Gospel has been received would make us fear that it can be held at present but insecurely, or in a very imperfect form. Indeed, we learn from the evidence of missionaries, that the conversions

¹ Report of Missions of the United Brethren, 1811, p. 27.

² "For sixteen years," writes Mr. Williams, "notwithstanding the untiring zeal, the incessant journeys, and the faithful exhortations of these devoted men, no spirit of interest or inquiry appeared; no solitary instance of conversion took place." *Missionary Enterprizes*, p. 13.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 185, 189, 190.

which have been recorded very commonly followed on defeat, or on the apprehension of defeat, in battle,¹ or upon sickness, when the help of idols was found to be vain,² or were largely dependent on the influence of chiefs.³ In such circumstances as these we recognise the natural—and, as history shows them to have been, the usual—causes by which sudden and extensive movements have been effected among savage tribes. Thus it was that many of the simultaneous conversions of numbers were produced in the missions of the sixth and seventh centuries, to which these present proceedings bear a stronger resemblance than those in the other countries which have been noticed, as regards the condition of the heathen, the position of the missionaries, and the effects which have been witnessed. But any such sudden impulse cannot be implicitly relied on; the real character and value of such conversions can be tested only by time, and by the result exhibited in the

¹ *Missionary Enterprizes*, p. 185. Mr. Williams observes, "It is a very remarkable fact, that in no island of importance has Christianity been introduced without a war; but it is right to observe, that in every instance, the heathens have been the aggressors."

² *Ibid.* p. 72. See also *Polynesia*, by Bishop Russell, p. 393. The author, in a note, quotes a passage from Williams's *Missionary Enterprizes*, p. 281, in which it is said, "The reader will remember that it was when Pomare was ill, his people proposed to destroy the images of Oro, presuming that the god was either malignant or powerless." In the eighth edition of Mr. Williams's work, this sentence is omitted, though the context remains the same.

³ *Polynesian Researches*, vol. ii. p. 88, quoted in *Polynesia*, pp. 386, 387.

future character of a nation.¹ Already, in the Society and Georgian Isles, relapses have occurred to a grievous extent.² In truth, among uncivilized tribes, commonly capricious in their temper, easily attracted, and as easily passing from one feeling to its opposite, the difficulty is not to induce them to accept a new faith, but to keep them in it.³ And when we consider the rapid method in which conversions were effected, how the missions seemed to depend on the influence and authority of individuals, how they were committed at once to native catechists, with no fixed superintendence, no definite

¹ The charges brought by some voyagers against the converts in these islands, and against the conduct of the missionaries, are too well known to need repetition. They may be found in Kotzebue (*Voyage round the World*, 1830); Captain Beechey (*Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific*); and the *Edinburgh Review*, No. LIII. p. 217; and are quoted in Bishop Russell's *Polynesia*, pp. 113, 114, 391. The latter writer quotes also, to the same purpose, from an unpublished *Journal*, p. 401, &c. The probable truth is, that both the missionaries and the travellers have drawn rather partial portraits from the view of the natives presented to each. Still we cannot but think it likely, that some such evil results to the native character as are charged, should arise from the extreme rigour of some of the laws imposed on their converts by the missionaries; such as the prohibition of fire, even to dress their meals, on Sunday, attendance at public worship required five times in the day, the discontinuance of several masculine amusements, which are mentioned also by Lord Byron (*Voyage of H. M. S. Blonde*, p. 116).

² Report of London Missionary Society, 1842, p. 3.

³ "*Cum enim sint (Barbari) leves corde, facillè credunt, non fidem concipientes ex Deo, facillè quoque id retractant inconstantes et leves.*" (Joseph. Acosta de Proc. Ind. Sal. p. 250.) Thus in the very first year of Brainerd's preaching, the Indians readily abolished their idolatrous sacrifices and heathenish dances, and even drunkenness was checked. Brown, vol. i. p. 91.

worship, nor provision for succession in the ministry,—while we thankfully welcome whatever improvement has resulted to the islands,—we cannot but feel that the ground is but broken up, that no means exist for its effectual culture; nor can we discern the presence of any power sufficient to cope with the advancing influence of the Romanists, supported, as it now is, by the protection of the civil government.

A more solid, and no less marked advance of the Gospel has been effected in a mission which, from the hopes and anticipations which are centred on that new country and its rising Church, must engage all our sympathies,—the mission of New Zealand. A more striking instance it has not been permitted to later generations to witness, than was exhibited on this field, of the conversion of nearly a whole nation. In 1814, the Church Missionary Society first commenced its labours in these islands, but for fifteen years no native was affected by the word of life, which was wholly checked in its course, chiefly through the savage opposition of one notorious marauder.¹ The fact of the natives being scattered about in tribes under separate chiefs² was another source of hindrance, not only from the perpetual jealousies and

¹ Evidence on Aborigines, p. 219.

² Blumhardt, speaking of the Selavi being broken up into small tribes, remarks with great truth, “l’histoire entière nous montre que cette circonstance a toujours été défavorable aux progrès de l’Evangile, et la mission Chrétienne a toujours trouvé une entrée plus facile chez les peuples soumis à un même sceptre.” Vol. iv. p. 6.

wars to which it gave rise, but from the absence of any such influence as was found to aid the reception of the Gospel in the Society and Sandwich groups, where the several islands were subject to one king or ruler. From the period of 1829, the gathering in of the heathen has been gradual and decisive. We may probably trace the more favourable reception which the missionaries then began to experience, to the conviction of the natives, that they were come to settle among them for beneficent purposes;¹ in their own expressive language, they found they were come “to break their clubs in two; to blunt the points of their spears; to make this tribe and that tribe love one another, and sit down as brothers and friends;”² and hence they listened to their teaching. Thus converts were gained; the inhuman practices which before distinguished this savage race were discontinued. With a surprising facility they gave themselves to instruction, and “to thousands of our fellow-creatures in that distant quarter of the earth God gave a new heart and a new spirit.”³ During the year 1841, the increase of those who were under instruction, including baptized and hearers, advanced from 29,000 to 35,000.⁴ Distant tribes are constantly being awakened to a desire to become Christians, and send for a teacher to come and instruct them. And thus, in calling individual

¹ Russell's *Polynesia*, p. 352.

² *Ibid.* p. 356.

³ Bishop of New Zealand's Thanksgiving Sermon, p. 9.

⁴ Church Missionary Report, 1842.

souls out of darkness, and instructing them in the principles of the Christian faith, in guiding men in habits of civilization and morality, the special work which it is competent to Christians, as individuals, to accomplish, has been effected, and has been abundantly blessed of God. But to *consolidate* this work, to carry it on, to develop the germ of Christian life in converts, to knit them together into a body, and lead them forward on settled methods of discipline and instruction, to draw out their true social life; for all this some higher and more complete system is needed, and that system is to be found in the perfect organization of the Church. And therefore we may look with cheerful thoughts towards this new colony; we may thankfully admire the Providence of God in having, at such a conjuncture, moved the hearts of our spiritual rulers to send a Chief Pastor to what his own fervent devotion regarded as “a land of Promise, a goodly heritage;” one who views himself and his fellows as guided by the Holy Spirit to plant, through Him, “a new branch of Christ’s universal Church in the midst of a race of native Christians; to be the prop and stay round which their early faith might entwine its branches, that it might grow with their growth, and strengthen with their increase of strength.”¹

The foregoing is but a sketch of those labours

Bishop of New Zealand’s Sermon, p. 11. On the Church in New Zealand, see Appendix, No. XXXIII.

which of late years, and of late years alone, have been engaged in for the propagation of the Gospel, partly by the Church, and partly by various Protestant bodies. Many reflections and some instructive lessons seem to arise from the review.

And first, we must feel convinced, that, desultory and unorganized as these labours have been, yet it would be denying the grace of God, and closing our eyes against His merciful workings, to doubt that a blessing,—and one quite as large as *the character* of the means employed would justify us in expecting,—has been bestowed upon them. Savages have been reclaimed and drawn from their altars of blood, to bow before the Cross of Christ their Saviour; their idols have been cast “to the moles and to the bats.” Men of fierce passions, whose glory it was to drain the blood of an enemy, have become tender and forgiving; intractable and wild, have learned to “dwell in peaceable habitations, and in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting-places.” “The wilderness has become a fruitful field, under the hands of men who have but lately learned from the Gospel to love the arts of peace.”¹ Men have torn themselves from home and kindred, and rent the dearest ties, and borne a mother’s bitter imprecation, and counted all things but loss, that they might win Christ.² On the fertile plains of Hindostan,

¹ Bishop of New Zealand’s Sermon, p. 10.

² See the very affecting statement of a Hindoo convert quitting his home, in Dr. Duff’s speech on The Church of Scotland’s India Mission, 1835, p. 21.

and the bleak shores of Greenland, amid the islands of the Southern Pacific, and the arid wastes of Africa, the sound of the Gospel has been heard; and, whatever we may think of the fulness or sufficiency with which it has been set forth before the heathen mind, yet of a surety we have seen the civilized and thoughtful Brahmin,—the island-savage,—the half-humanized Esquimaux, and Hottentot, transformed in mind and heart, under the power of the word of God, casting off their former prejudices and stormy passions and palsy of soul, and rising into new life under the healing shadow of the Cross of Christ. I might adduce, were it suitable, instances, and these touching ones, in which the power of God has beyond doubt been exhibited in the actings of a vigorous and venturing faith, in the control of passions, which before it had been deemed a virtue to gratify; in the spirit of self-sacrifice which has enabled the young convert to forsake mother and brethren, and all that he had, to follow Christ. These are signs of Christ's kingdom, and they are before our eyes, and we dare not deny them. The word of God is active, and does not fail, does "not return void," but is prospering "in the thing whereunto it is sent."

But have not these efforts been marked largely also by failure, or by results incommensurate with *the amount* of labour and resources that have been expended upon them? This too must be freely acknowledged. The earlier missions of the English

in America seemed to fail on the removal of each zealous missionary.¹ Those of the Dutch in the Indian islands ceased and became obliterated, with the cessation of the civil authority which upheld them. In many districts where the Moravians had commenced the work of evangelizing the natives, in Lapland, Ceylon, Persia, and among the Kalnuc Tartars, no trace of their operations any longer remains.² The attempts of Protestant bodies to evangelize China, and the neighbouring kingdoms, have signally failed. We must confess that hitherto no widely spread impression has been made on British India; that the older missions of Tranquebar and Tanjore appear for a time to have languished; that others are carried on but feebly; so that we may not wonder at the doubts that have been expressed by casual observers, as to any advance of the faith of the Cross on the strongholds of Hindoo superstition. An attempt was made to gain an entrance among the Zooloo race, but it failed. Compare the visible results obtained, with the multiplied machinery, urgency of appeal, and vast expenditure, with which the missions are prosecuted, and it must be owned they are greatly disproportionate. And hence arises a question of deep interest,—to what causes may these failures and this inadequacy of success be traced?

There are those who will at once reply, that they

¹ See a former Appendix, No. XXXII.

² Missions of United Brethren, pp. 437—453.

are to be traced alone to the so-called Protestant principle, which admits of no other sanction and authority in religion, but the Holy Scriptures. I trust that what has been already adduced is sufficient to show, that notwithstanding this principle, supposing it to exist, successes have, nevertheless, been obtained; for undoubtedly, (to repeat one instance,) the Moravians, the most devoted and fruitful among Protestant missionaries, seem, in the tone of their language, to symbolize with those by whom such a rule is supposed to be accepted. And further, I would observe, that no such objection can apply to the Church of England, even though the conduct of some of its members, or of associations formed within it, may have given cause for the charge; for it has never asserted nor acted upon any such principle, but claims an authority in matters of faith and discipline. And certainly there are many causes by which the apparent unproductiveness of its missionary exertions may be readily and satisfactorily explained. Consider how recently these efforts have been commenced, which yet, by God's mercy, are being strengthened and multiplied. Consider how long a period is commonly needed for maturing a system, (and without system all effort is useless,) on which operations, large and varied, and pregnant with new and difficult conjunctures, are to be conducted. Then reflect on the paucity of missionaries by which so great a work has been enterprized; some thirty, scat-

tered through Northern India, with its 70,000,000 heathen;¹ ten allotted to the diocese of Bombay;² four located among a population of 600,000 in Tanjore.³ This latter district is named, because it has been selected as an instance of our discomfiture; and yet here it is that the missionaries complain that they can do no more than minister to the converts already gained, that “many hundreds of villages are never visited,” that, “instead of eighty or one hundred converts from heathenism, with which the labours of Schwartz were annually blessed, we have seldom more than five or six to bring forward as the fruit of our labours. And this is not owing to any opposition to the Gospel on the part of the heathen, but simply to the fact, that they have not the Gospel preached to them at all.”⁴ I could cite passages from Bishop Heber⁵ and the present Bishop of Madras,⁶ to the same point, were it required; but the fact will not be disputed by any one conversant with the subject. The hesitation commonly shown in administering Holy Baptism, protracted at times to a probation of several

¹ Since this was written, the Bishop of Calcutta's Charge states that there are now thirty-seven clergy in his diocese. In 1838 there were only twenty-nine. Of course the East India Company's chaplains are not included; for their services are devoted to Europeans.

² *i. e.* four on the S. P. G. list, and six on the C. M. S. list. Reports, 1842.

³ Kohloff's Report, in Madras Report for 1838, p. 61.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 62.

⁵ Journal, vol. iii. p. 91.

⁶ Report S. P. G. 1841, p. cliv.

years,¹ the care with which the faith and the worship of Christ are protected from any contamination or admixture with Pagan superstitions,² diminish the number of those who might otherwise be gained to swell the amount of success. It must be admitted, too, that through the lack of discipline which Henry Martyn³ lamented, not only are converts deprived of the guidance and instruction which is needed for their growth in grace, but the Church is stripped of those signs of power and holiness, whereby it might testify to the heathen that it is indeed the city of God upon earth. These remarks, confined to India, might more or less be extended to the missions in various lands; and other hindrances already alluded to might be added; but surely these are, of themselves, fully adequate to account for such scantiness of success, and so slow an advance of the Gospel of grace, as we have to deplore.

But beyond a doubt, when we reflect on the proceedings of other bodies, there do appear inherent faults in the method of their operations, to which we cannot but attribute the want of permanency, and in many cases the very scanty fruit that has resulted from their labours. They have acted on the persuasion of the Holy Scriptures being the

¹ An instance of baptism delayed for four years occurs in C. M. S. Report for 1842, p. 73.

² As in the observance of *caste*, which converts are required to renounce.

³ Memoirs, p. 287.

chief instrument of conversion, and therefore, in the most extensive scene where this principle has been applied, a most extensive failure has followed. Dr. Morrison arrived at Canton in 1807, and at once set himself to the translation, into Chinese, of the sacred Scriptures, with other religious writings. From the commencement of his work up to 1838, a prodigious dispersion was made of the word of God, and of religious tracts. Some missionaries were joined with him, and were stationed at Penang, Singapore, and Malacca, to aid the work of distribution by preaching. The narrative of one of them records, at the last-named period, that, at Macao and Canton, in twenty-one years, ten had “entered the Church;”¹ at Penang, after sixteen years, thirteen had been baptized;² at Singapore, which mission was commenced at the same date with the last, three natives had been baptized “in course of time,” as the fruit of these labours.³ At Malacca a somewhat different system was pursued; for a seminary and school were instituted, besides an establishment for printing, and a Chinese convert was joined to several missionaries for the purpose of preaching. Here, however, after twenty-two years’ labour, as near as can be collected, about sixty had been baptized.⁴ During this period, in all the neighbouring districts an

¹ Medhurst’s China, p. 276.

² Ibid. pp. 325—327.

³ Ibid. p. 328.

⁴ Ibid. ch. xii. throughout.

almost incredible distribution of the Holy Scriptures and other writings had been accomplished, aided with vast funds, and zeal, to give a fair trial to the great experiment; and such is the result. We may observe, also, that not here alone, but in other fields in which missionaries, connected with these sects, have been engaged, their proceedings are marked by a rejection of any authority as existing in the Church; nay, they profess to teach only certain doctrines, and repudiate the idea of propagating the Gospel in connexion with, and through an ordained system.¹ And, still further, as a necessary consequence of this principle, their operations have been characterised by a faulty and feeble Individualism, both in the means employed, and in the result sought to be obtained. The being joined to Christ is made to consist solely in the acceptance of certain truths, and in the inward experience of their power. Hence, personal conviction is alone regarded; spiritual emotions, and not the concurrence of the *will* in an external definite creed and law of holiness, are viewed as the test of conversion; the being united to a body, and the reception of a gift on being baptized into it, is lost sight of. Hence missions have declined because resting solely

¹ It is declared to be a *fundamental principle* of the London Missionary Society, that "its design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church order and government, but the glorious Gospel of the blessed God, to the heathen."

on personal labours ; hence has sprung the relapse of converts through their being left destitute of due aids to their faith ; hence has arisen the inability to consolidate and give permanency to the work of conversion in *a people*, and to transmit it, unchanged, to posterity.

There is a work, indeed, (as has been already urged and illustrated,) in which individual Christians, as such, may engage, and produce an immediate result. They may prepare the way, may affect men *as individuals*, may waken their conscience, may call them from idols, may break up the fallow ground, may humanize and civilize ; but to build up the House of God, to feed the flock of Christ, to unite in one, to provide for future generations ; for these high ends, (and without these permanency cannot be secured,) the appointed ordinance of God in His Church is needed, with its solemn round of homily and litany, fast and festival, the inculcation of its creeds, the controlling influence of its discipline and godly rule.

For a time, then, and among uncivilized tribes, labours such as those just mentioned may succeed ; but they can do so only up to a certain point. They are wholly insufficient, when numbers have received the Gospel. to form them into a people, being destitute of those true principles on which social existence depends. And therefore they have proved altogether inefficacious in extending the

Gospel among nations advanced in civilization and possessed of an organized religious system, like the empires of the East. This is strikingly illustrated by a tabular statement, drawn up in a most impartial spirit, in order to exhibit the success attending the labours of several missionary societies in India. In this table the number of the baptized is specified, both in some missionary districts connected with the Church of England, and in others of several denominations of Protestants. And the result is as follows. Thirty-three stations are named; in fourteen of these, which belong to our Church, the number of baptized is above 6400; while in the nineteen remaining stations, connected with Protestant Dissenters, the number amounts to but 692.¹

We see, then, in such methods an inherent defect, an inability to take up the command of Christ, and “make disciples of all nations.” We see why failure adheres to them as a natural result. Christ has appointed a divine institution for this end, and without it this end cannot be accomplished. The neglect of any of God’s appointments in a given work, must cripple its progress, and bring discomfiture in due time. So far as it is conducted according to His will, it may secure a blessing, and to that extent confer one—but no further. Personal faith, and love, and devotedness, may carry with

¹ This Table, which is taken from the Rev. Baptist Noel’s Essay on Christian Missions, is given in Appendix, No. XXXIV.

them blessings to individuals; but they are circumscribed by individual life; they cannot transmit themselves; they cannot reach beyond their measure; and if they alone are trusted to for executing what is to be universal and perpetual, they must fail. We may thank God, then, on witnessing signs of His blessing upon labours thus undertaken, wherever the Church has not acted, nor brought its divine commission and polity to bear upon the heathen world. But we must not mistake these labours for the power of the Church itself, nor be content with such desultory, imperfect methods of doing the will of God. The Church has gifts and energy of a wider range and influence; its system is adapted to affect, and call forth, and control, and sanctify the whole man, in all his powers and in all his relations, not individual alone, but social and civil. It can address itself to the lawless and rude independence of savage life, to the compacted and stately fabric of well-organized governments, and to the refinements of civilized society. It can take up the work where individual exertion fails. And while the thought may excite shame and self-reproach, still it is a consolation to feel, and to avow, that if its doings have not been witnessed in converting the pagan nations, this has arisen, not from any failure in the attempt, but from the attempt not having been duly made. It is consolatory also to observe, that wherever this Divine system has been drawn out in greater completeness and

integrity, there a fresh energy has at once been seen to go forth, and stir into life the dry bones of the valley of death. We may trace the new and cheering aspect that has been impressed on the Indian missions, and the revival of the work in the latter days, to a larger unfolding of the powers that belong to the Church catholic. The last four years have witnessed an enlargement of its borders in North and South India, which, but of late, would have been deemed visionary.¹ In other colonial districts—in Australia, North America, New Zealand—a fresh energy, evidenced by the earnest appeals for more labourers from amongst us, has been infused by the extension of the episcopate.² Among heathen nations, Ceylon now waits for its portion in the Church. In prospects such as these we may thankfully rejoice and “take courage.” Let us receive them as tokens upon us for good. Let us only the more “stand upon our watch, and set us upon the tower, and watch to see what the Lord will say unto us, and what we shall answer

¹ See the Letters and Charges of the Bishops of Calcutta and Madras.

² Of the need felt of the perfect organization of the Church, an instance is given by Mr. Schön, who accompanied the Niger expedition, and who writes, “I have no hesitation in saying, that if the Church at Sierra Leone had been blessed with the paternal care of a bishop, several would ere now have been admitted to holy orders.” Quoted in Trew’s Letter to the Bishop of London, p. 53. A similar sentiment is expressed by a missionary, writing from the farther districts of North America, in the Church Missionary Record for December, 1842, p. 299.

when we are reprov'd."¹ Even yet our past neglect may be done away; and though, through disunion, and through the irregular zeal of others, who have entered, uncalled, upon the work which they found unattempted, embarrassment and difficulty may attend our steps,—though the seed may have to be sown in sorrow and amidst gainsayings,—even yet the Lord will show that He has chosen His Church to be a blessing to all people, to “bear” His “name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel.”²

¹ Habakkuk ii. 1.

² Acts ix. 15.

LECTURE VII.

THE PRESENT CONDITION AND WANTS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND MISSIONS.

LUKE XXII. 35, 36.

AND HE SAID UNTO THEM, WHEN I SENT YOU WITHOUT PURSE,
AND SCRIP, AND SHOES, LACKED YE ANYTHING? AND THEY SAID,
NOTHING. THEN SAID HE UNTO THEM, BUT NOW, HE THAT HATH
A PURSE, LET HIM TAKE IT, AND LIKEWISE HIS SCRIP: AND HE
THAT HATH NO SWORD, LET HIM SELL HIS GARMENT, AND BUY
ONE.

THE conduct of our blessed Lord towards His disciples while He was on the earth, seems to present a type of that method which He has observed in His dealings with His Church since His ascension into heaven. While He was with them, His fostering care was over them in a large measure; and there was, for the time, a suspension of that severer ordeal which they were afterwards to endure. They could not, and, in His presence, needed not to use those fastings which were to be their portion afterwards, when He was taken away. On their first commission to preach, they had gone forth unprovided with the common means of support, yet lacked nothing: but now He bids them, in the

prospect of their coming trial, to take with them their scrip, and purse, and sword. Such too have been His dealings with the Church. For a time His special power watched over and aided its infancy; and, while the larger endowment of spiritual gifts rested upon it, there needed not the appliances of worldly help to speed it onward. But since the withdrawal of these gifts the extension of the Gospel has been committed to human agency, and it is to be advanced by the use of all such instruments and means as Christian prudence and the consecration of the gifts of God to His service can supply.

In the review that has been taken of the missionary labours of later years, my purpose has been to discover those methods on the use of which their success or failure have seemed to depend. For in the execution of any purpose of God, the single consideration on which the care and thoughtfulness of those engaged in it need to be fixed, is, whether the means proper for the attainment of the end are employed; and difficulties last only so long as these fail to be applied. Therefore, if any such discussion as the present is to be more than a mere idle speculation, we must necessarily direct our thoughts to those points on which the efforts of the Church seem to have been defective, and to the consideration of how she may be enabled to rise up in the strength of the Lord, and enter upon the vast work that lies before her.

And since means must be proportioned to the object to be attained, let it be permitted, in the outset, to survey shortly the harvest-field of missionary labour, so as to catch, in outline at least, the characteristics of its main divisions. Viewing the expanse of Paganism in its broader features, it presents itself under a threefold aspect. And as each form of it lies more or less within defined geographical limits, it will not be difficult to mark off each division, and assign it to its proper district on the chart of the earth.

The ancient dynasties of the East are possessed generally by two vast religious systems, which meet and are blended together in the Peninsula of Hindostan. The former of these systems is that of the false Prophet, which, exercising unopposed sway over Western Asia, and extending along the northern coast of Africa, offers the most formidable obstruction to the faith of Christ, from the fact of its being, as it is, a counterfeit of the 'Truth itself. The great simplicity of its dogmas, proclaiming the unity and spirituality of God, with the solemn doctrine of a state of future reward and punishment, and denouncing the sin of idolatry, are calculated to seize hold of the mind and demand the acquiescence of the reason. The existence of a sacred record, which always, in its degree, secures permanency to a creed; the purity of its morals, compared with what is recognised in Oriental superstitions; the recollection of former grandeur, when

Europe was indebted to Arabian genius for a revival of its arts, and science, and learning; and the adaptation of the system, especially in its large admixture of fabulous comment, to the Oriental mind; the increased civilization that has undoubtedly followed in its track, and enlightened many of the dark places of idolatry; its alliance with powerful dynasties in Asia, and even in Europe;—all these circumstances concur in giving a fixedness to the system, and in rooting the Mahometan in his faith, so as to forbid his viewing the Gospel of Jesus Christ as holding any other place than that allotted to it in his creed.

The second form of Paganism which, as holding in subjection the hearts and understandings of one-third of the human race, demands the concern of the Church, is that stupendous and multiform system, which, from its being based on a strict Pantheism, and on the doctrine of a metempsychosis, may be regarded as one, though it assumes a twofold appearance, as exhibited either in the practical Polytheism of Brahminism, or in the purer Pantheism of the Buddhists. In India, the source of thought and civilization to the East, where it took its rise, it appears in the more popular form of an Emanative system, in which the one primordial essence is extended through all forms of existence, shining brighter in the deities than in the human soul, or inferior spirits, and is so transmitted through all the manifold forms of being. From the endless incarnations which have thus been

evolved, there has sprung a complicated and varied mythology, with a corresponding variety in the rites and ceremonies which constitute the Hindoo worship. Concurrently with this religious system, the whole circle of knowledge, of science, physical and metaphysical, of art, of law, and government, of social and private duty, has been the subject of express revelation, so that there is not a transaction in which the Hindoo can engage for which he has not, as he deems, the especial direction of heaven.¹ In the further East, among the pastoral tribes of Mongolia and Thibet, and in the isle of Japan, this same system, propagated under its later form of Buddhism, displaced the simpler worship of the elements, and of the genii presiding over them, and gave rise to the religion of the Lamas and the Bonzes; while in China millions are still held in subjection to its mystical creed.² In this vast empire, however, it is brought into contact with two other religious systems, which seem in some degree to be modified by, or maintained concurrently with it in the minds of the population. The former is that of Confucius, whose moral code and materialistic tendencies are maintained chiefly

¹ A more philosophical view of the Hindoo theory than is commonly given in accounts of that superstition, is to be found in Dr. Duff's *India and India Missions*, ch. ii., and has been followed in the text.

² This is reckoned by M. Abel Remusat (*Relation des Voyages Bouddhiques*, *Introd.* p. xliii.) as the second great outbreak of Buddhism, and is placed by him at about 100 B.C.

by the learned. The latter is that of Lao-tsze, which has degenerated into a mass of magical superstitions, though professing originally to pay honour to the Eternal Reason. But all these systems are equally characterised by one pervading defect. The idea of one all-powerful and perfect Being is so obscured by a countless multitude of divinities, or refined away amid the subtleties of metaphysical abstraction, as to be practically rejected; so that throughout the nations of the East are exhibited in combination the seemingly contradictory principles of polytheism with atheism.¹

The third form of idolatry and darkness to be assailed by the Gospel, is the debased superstition which prevails variously among the Africans, the Indians of America, and the mixed Malay and Negro races of the islands of the South Pacific. Among these the idea of the Great Spirit is obliterated in proportion as the tribes are more or less barbarized. Yet, commonly, the superstition is rude and formless, with no creed or system of worship, accompanied by cruel rites and a belief in a magical virtue, and attended by a degraded state of civilized life. It is the religion, in a word, of barbarism, of the primæval tradition run to its very dregs, varying its form according to the state of the savage understanding, and modified by local custom and peculiarities.

The thought that occurs at once, on a general

¹ Medhurst's *China*, p. 219.

glance at this field of infidelity, is to note a certain correspondence between its separate parts, and those various states of the Pagan world with which, in the earlier periods, Christianity was brought into conflict.

We may observe, first, that, in one main feature, the struggle of the Church in the first four centuries is analogous to its present position with regard to the systematized superstitions of the East; viz. that it is a struggle with *civilization*,—a *political* civilization in China, as was the case in Greece and Rome,—a *religious* civilization in India, as it was in Egypt. And next, that the long and laborious extension of the Gospel among the barbarous races in Germany, Scandinavia, and Russia, may be viewed as in some degree identical with the task to be undertaken now among the uncivilized tribes of the heathen world.

This correspondence,—though doubtless many points of difference exist, enough to *modify* the methods of action that may be adopted,—may yet be thought sufficiently real, to lead us to look to the past, in addition to the experience of later days, for some general principles which may serve as a guide to the Church in converting the nations. For, from age to age, she has drawn from her armoury implements of warfare, whereby, at first, though a stranger in the midst of enemies, she changed the face of the civilized Roman empire; and afterwards, though a captive, subdued her bar-

barian conquerors, and gained a spiritual triumph over force and violence. And we must believe,—since human nature, in its broader features, is the same, and the counsel of God standeth fast,—that if He grant her the spirit to act faithfully upon the same principles, His blessing will enable her to prevail, as she has prevailed.

I. And now, the first principle which I would point out as signalizing the earliest efforts of the Church, during the periods of its greatest success in evangelizing the heathen, and in which it must be acknowledged that we have been mainly deficient in our operations both at home and abroad, is that of its acting on the ever present idea of its being One Body. I will not speak now of unity between the vast branches of the Catholic Church, but confine myself, on this point, to the proceedings of our own Church; in the operations of which this principle may be observed, by our acting as a body, and not merely as associated individuals. The dissocializing principle that has characterised and formed the Protestant sects, has in a degree infected the Church, and has too much broken up its organization into societies, which (acting with more or less of countenance from its rulers) have yet framed their own rules, and pursued their own objects by their own means; have appealed to the faithful on behalf of themselves; have sent enissaries to urge their own claims; have redistributed the country into fresh districts for

their own operations, disregarding the ancient ecclesiastical divisions ; have called on the clergy to cooperate, with no concurrence of their Bishop ; thus, in many cases introducing disorder and perplexity, and charging individuals with a duty which belongs to them only in subordination to divinely-appointed authority. The office of carrying the Gospel to the heathen, in particular, is undertaken by a professedly "*Lay Association*," which nevertheless selects, appoints, and sends missionaries ; superintends and directs their operations ; forms new missions and relinquishes them ; and so assumes an authority and responsibility which was ever wont to be reposed in the chief pastors of the Church.¹ Let it be allowed that such societies have been formed with a true desire for God's glory, and in defect of provision being authoritatively made for executing the proposed work ; yet the principle must be acknowledged to be faulty,—the system anomalous in the Church of Christ. Saul waited not for Samuel to sacrifice, and it was counted for disobedience ; and though God

¹ A Statement, On the Constitution and Practice of the Church Missionary Society, with reference to its Ecclesiastical Relations, was published in Appendix II. of the Society's Thirty-ninth Report. I cannot but think, however, that a candid judgment must perceive that this statement does not satisfy either the actual circumstances of the case, or the principles involved in them. It is difficult to conclude either that it is competent for a lay body to do such ecclesiastical acts as are mentioned in the text, or that the Society does not perform them. On this point, see Appendix, No. XXXV.

may mercifully have accepted this service, for the sake of the piety which urged it, yet it cannot but entail much difficulty and misunderstanding, as being at variance with His Divine order and rule.

In expanding further this remark, I trust I may not be understood as speaking in a tone of censure, but only as pointing out what must at once be allowed to be a defect; and, in illustration, let me revert once again to experience.

The providences of God, as well as the declarations of His word, have clearly marked that His blessing rests with the Church as a body; while neglect of this appointment, independent agency, schemes devised in piety, indeed, but in man's wisdom, and the adoption of means seemingly more fit, energetic, and apt for the work, yet without Divine sanction, have led into error, have succeeded, perhaps, for a time, and made (as all plans pushed on by zeal ever do for a season) a show of power and effect, yet in the end have failed in consolidating and perpetuating their work. Instances of this have occurred in the review of past missionary history. It has been illustrated in the missions of Protestant bodies; it has been shown again in the very opposite, but (as happens in extremes) analogous instances of the religious orders of Rome, especially that of the Jesuits. And it is so observable a corroboration of the principle here sought to be established, that it may

be worth while to point out various ways in which precisely the same results have sprung (even within the short time they have yet existed) from the religious associations of Protestants, as showed themselves in the religious Societies of Rome, proving an identity of principle involved in them.

1. We may trace, then, this identity most readily in the tendency which manifests itself in both, to act independently of the appointed government of the Church by Episcopal authority. In Japan, in Paraguay, in India, a marked jealousy of this apostolic rule was evinced by the Jesuits;¹ even the Papal decrees were disregarded when opposed to their modes of action; a persecution was raised against prelates who resisted them, for they would walk after their own ways, and were therefore found

¹ For instances, see *Recueil des Décrets Apostoliques et des Ordonnances du Roi de Portugal*, Avertissement, pp. 14—16; and *Histoire abrégée des Jésuites*, vol. ii. pp. 83—86. Paris, 1820. Two bishops were consecrated at Rome in 1657; one, Bishop of Heliopolis, the other, Bishop of Berithe, to take charge of the congregations in China, Cochin-China, &c. The Jesuits opposed them as intruding on their ground. “Ils firent savoir aux fidèles qu’ils n’eussent pas à reconnaître les Evêques, ni à leur obéir.”—*Histoire abrégée*, p. 95. For their conduct in Paraguay, see *Lect. V.* p. 153, note 2. In 1626, a Bishop of Chalcedon was appointed, with the authority of ordinary over the Roman Catholics in England, and undertook to extend his jurisdiction over the Jesuits; but they threw such obstacles in his way that he was obliged to retire. Hence arose a controversy between the Jesuits and the adherents of the bishop, in which, among other things, it was disputed, whether “*regulars were under the jurisdiction of bishops.*” See Stillingfleet’s *Discourse concerning the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome*. London, 1676, p. 421, quoted in Bayle, art. “Knot,” note (A).

in collision with external rule. Thus the associations of various Protestant bodies have necessarily cut themselves off from this apostolic ordinance, with which their constitution is incompatible. And even within the Church, a sad evidence of this tendency has been recently exhibited in the collision of a Society with the Bishop of an Indian diocese, and the wounds are yet unhealed.¹ Yet so it is, that private voluntary schemes must, in their independent action, naturally conflict with a controlling authority, if that authority does not depend for its existence on the same voluntary appointment.

2. Again, there was not a more melancholy sight, than the strifes that arose between the rival orders of Rome in China, in India, and throughout Europe, each charging the other with departure from the faith; so that in Malabar, a Jesuit Christian was set in opposition to a Capuchin Christian.² Would that we had not to lament the same jealousy, marring the work of God in the same unhappy field, among the various Protestant Societies, which, each jealous for its own honour, and pushing its own schemes, are set in rivalry and opposition one against the other!³

¹ The case referred to, is that of the Rev. W. T. Humphrey, late missionary of the Church Missionary Society at Mayaveram, in the Diocese of Madras. See Appendix, No. XXXVI.

² Norbert, *Mém. Hist. des Missions dans les Indes Orientales*, vol. i. p. 8.

³ Thus, among the dangers attending the Krishnaghûr mission, the Bishop of Calcutta names the divisions among different bodies of Christians. Church Missionary Society, 40th Report, p. 151.

3. A further correspondence may be remarked in the inability which has attended both to coalesce with the civil authority among the heathen. They have been found, in some cases, neglecting it, and thus rejecting a means appointed of God to aid in the work of conversion,¹ and in others, exercising tyranny over it. It is needless to refer to the precise and definite charges of interference with the civil supremacy which caused the expulsion of the Jesuits from many kingdoms. It is but the same spirit that has exhibited itself in the unwise and presumptuous exercise of authority that has marked the conduct of Protestant emissaries among the nations of the Pacific islands.² And that it should thus reappear is no strange thing; for experience proves that the temper of self-will which acts regardless of authority, is ever ready to seize upon it, even unlawfully, when within its grasp.

4. We may further trace the same coincidence, where perhaps we might not expect it, in a similar and unreal substitution of an internal state, or intention of the mind, for the entire worship of God in body and soul. The true and scriptural teaching

¹ Comp. Medhurst's *China*, p. 250.

² "They have acquired a degree of public and private importance, (having persuaded them [the natives] that they are the necessary conductors to heaven,) which, but for the situation of the islands, which secures a constant succession of foreigners for the purposes of commerce, would bid fair to renew the Jesuit dominion in Paraguay." Byron's *Voyage to Sandwich Islands*, pp. 146, 147; and Captain Beechy's *Voyage to the Pacific*, vol. ii. p. 420; also Russell's *Polynesia*, p. 323.

of the Church associates internal worship with its corresponding external act, which at once embodies, and fixes, and strengthens the inward gracious temper. How this union has been violated in the teaching of Protestant sects, which resolves all true religion into an inward experience and movement of the soul, is too well known. These have *discarded* the outward worship. Yet just in a similar way were the Jesuit missionaries found maintaining that the intention of the mind by itself constituted acceptable service to God, even though allied to an idolatrous act. So that these have *separated* the outward from the inward; and this, too, purposely to justify a vicious permission of heathen practices to their neophytes.¹

5. It is but the same principle, moreover, in both classes of societies, that has shown itself in the tendency to become secular, and engage in the acquisition of private property. In the West, and in the East Indies, the emissaries of the Jesuits were largely engaged in commercial pursuits; and thus wealth accrued to the order, and they were enabled to push their schemes over all the world, until they became, through their secular transactions, a scandal to Europe.² And it is enough to notice

¹ See Lect. V. p. 164, note 1.

² On a point which has been so much the subject of discussion, it will be enough to refer to sources of information. The fact is bewailed in most strong language by Josephus Acosta, de Proc. Ind. Sal. lib. iv. cap. xv. pp. 403, 404. See Norbert, vol. i. pp. 157, 298. (In the latter passage the Jesuit Bishop of Melia-

a tendency towards the same results, a mixing of the secular with the religious character, in the conduct of missionaries of self-constituted societies. It is avowed and claimed by them as among the benefits of missionary enterprize, that they have promoted commercial dealings, and directed them among the islands of the South;¹ and in New Zealand, the private speculations of missionaries connected with the Church became so excessive, as to bring reproach upon the mission.² Yet do not these things illustrate only the natural tendencies of individual associations, though formed for religious purposes? They are schemes of man's device, they do not represent the spiritual society founded by Christ, and therefore cannot throw themselves upon the promise to that body; they cannot follow the Apostle's canon, and "give themselves wholly to these things," but, having a human origin, they are driven to sustain themselves by human expedients.

pore is related to have inquired of the English governor of Madras, in what character he would be received. "*Comme un bon marchand*," was the reply.) The failure of Father La Valette at Martinique, for above a million and half of livres, is related in the *Mémoire à consulter, et Consultation pour Jean Lioncy, &c.*, printed at Paris in 1761. A "*Mémoire Apologétique*," (in which, however, the mercantile transactions of the Jesuits in Paraguay are acknowledged,) occurs in *Lettres Edif.* vol. ix. p. 187.

¹ Evidence on Abor. p. 310. "The Great Commission," p. 238. Mr. Williams seems to have engaged largely in such pursuits, and on one occasion a speculation which he had entered into was condemned, and his conduct censured. *Life by Prout*, p. 194.

² Appendix, No. XXXVII.

6. Lastly, another indication of the identity of principle which pervades self-originated associations is seen in the temptation to parade and exaggerate the effects of their labours; for, unable to appeal to any special commission, they need the evidence of visible success to justify and recommend their proceedings. And the imputation of this untruthfulness of statement has been cast by each on the other, till missionary reports have become a by-word, and the whole work is distrusted.

The pernicious character of the tendencies which have been enumerated will, I trust, prove that no undue importance is attached to the evil which besets the existence of such voluntary associations within the Church. These ill results may exhibit themselves in various degrees in various bodies, just in proportion as they either practically recognise or disregard episcopal control.¹ Still such bodies are essentially faulty in their tendency, they usurp the office assigned to the Church, and yet they are incompetent to execute its work. For not being an ordinance of God, they possess no corporate life,

¹ It is but justice to remark that "the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," from the unreserved manner in which the direction of its affairs is submitted to the Bishops of the Church, under the constant personal superintendence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and from the care with which it abstains from any interference with its missionaries, who are placed entirely under the control of the Colonial Bishop in whose Diocese they officiate, is as free as possible from those faults to which voluntary associations have a natural tendency.

they are at best but an aggregate of individuals, with no personality, or responsibility as a body, and no source of unity; they depend for existence on private will and favour, and therefore can appeal to no higher principle; they cannot command the allegiance or fix the affections of men. And besides this, they introduce diversity of counsel and of action where unity is an especial condition of success; and thus, in the perplexities and difficulties which will ever arise, they force upon us the conviction that our missionary transactions, if any permanent success is to attend them, should be conducted by the constituted authority of the Church, and thus claim the suffrages and alms of the faithful.

Nor is this principle of the Church acting as one body to be confined to its conduct in originating its missions, but to be carried out and visibly exhibited among the heathen. What has necessarily been the effect of the desultory and uncombined action that has been evinced at home, but a sad feebleness and aimlessness of object in the dispersion of the forces abroad? Missionaries have been scattered here and there, one or two amongst millions, acting upon no system, representing no body, their spirits exhausted under an oppressive sense of inability to meet the demand upon them. And even where some degree of success has followed, yet the converts have been sprinkled over so wide a surface, with no coherence or common life, that the results have been scarcely visible. Therefore it deserves

our serious consideration whether we might not act more efficiently by concentrating our labours, and fixing them upon given spots where a Christian community might be formed and organized; where the converts, being mutually a support to one another, aided by the restraints of discipline,¹ and removed beyond the influence of idolatrous practices and associations, might exhibit a higher standard of Christian advancement, and offer a more evident witness to the heathen of the power and excellence of the faith of Christ.

But in carrying out this design, it will seem indispensable that, in planting any mission, not one or two individuals be sent, but that a brotherhood of clergy, under one invested with episcopal authority, be associated together, and thus form the germ from which a Christian Church may unfold itself in its full proportions. Thus, at least, in all earlier and more successful days, the apostles of heathen Europe acted; they began by centralization, and by setting up a Christian society. Within its circle they maintained that mode of life which might convince the heathen that, in Christ, men were brought into a fresh relation to God and to one another; that this relationship did not supersede, but sanctified and comprehended within itself all other social bonds; that, by making

¹ The absence of discipline amongst native converts was lamented by Henry Martyn, *Memoirs*, p. 287. The necessity of it among neophytes is strongly and justly urged by Josephus Acosta, *de Prog. Ind. Sal. lib. iv. cap. xix. p. 122.*

things spiritual the measure of things temporal, it softened down the inequalities of life, giving dignity to the weak, and humility to the strong, and so united men in a new family. Thus a visible meaning was given to the language of Scripture, to its pervading idea of the "Mount Sion," "the heavenly Jerusalem," "the kingdom of God," the "fellowship" of saints. From these central points evangelists issued forth into the surrounding Pagan country; fresh wastes were recovered, and taken possession of. The bounds of the Church gradually enlarged themselves from the primary seat of occupation; and by the concentration of power, and by unity of action, means were provided for regular advance, and for making a steady resistance against the assaults of heathenism.

II. But if the review of the heathen world, in its vast dimensions and various aspects, force upon us the needfulness of a united and vigorous system of operation, both at home in originating, and abroad in executing, the onward advance of the Gospel of Christ; it equally establishes, that diversity of means and of action must be employed in the same work. In this respect the present condition of Paganism offers a contrast to that which belonged to it both in the earlier and middle ages of the Christian era. Each of these periods had its own distinguishing character; the aspect of the heathen with whom the Church had to do was, for the most part, the same. In the former period it

was civilized, in the latter it was barbarian. The operations of the Church, within each, were therefore uniform. But now the heathen world presents an aspect greatly diversified. On the one hand are the Eastern superstitions, like the huge fortresses which crown the heights of India, bearing the impress of a rude grandeur, and witnessing to an ancient civilization, the strongholds of a stern despotism, under the shelter of which there has grown up a cultivation of the arts and sciences, with an advancement in social life, and, among the privileged classes of natives, an extravagant but abstruse philosophy, which will offer, at the least, a strong inert force against the advance of Christianity. On the other hand are nations in all the varying degrees of barbarism and gross idolatry, scattered into tribes, uninstructed in the rudiments of civilized life, and needing, in some cases, almost to be humanized, in order to their elevation as moral and immortal beings.

It is clear that a different system of treatment must be adopted towards these diverse forms of Paganism, in order effectually to bring them into subjection to the truth. It will be required also by that diversity of thought, and feeling, and character, and association, which (to whatever cause we trace it, whether climate, or habit, and a consequent organization of the human frame,) certainly does distinguish the various races of the earth's inhabitants. We recognise at once the strong

contrast which is presented in the imaginative cast of the oriental mind, its fondness for abstraction and dreamy thought and symbolical representations, its mysticism and admiration of austerity, to the practical and masculine character which is formed in the western and northern climes, its cool intellectual energy, its bodily activity which despises indolent meditation, its proneness rather to scepticism than superstition. And therefore this consideration would lead us to conclude, that a different mode of address and treatment will be needed towards heathen falling under the one class of character from what is pursued towards the other; and that it would be impracticable to graft the rational and unsymbolical form of European worship on an imagination accustomed to contemplate divine things only under forms of external grandeur and ceremonial.¹

Enough, then, is said to show that diversity of means needs to be employed in the propagation of the faith among various races. Neither the same methods of presenting the truth, nor the same individuals, can meet the demands of all. Different habits of thought, qualifications, resources, powers,

¹ The poverty of the external form under which the Gospel was exhibited in India is thus spoken of by Bishop Middleton: "What must the worshipper in mosque and pagoda think of men, who, possessing all the resources of the country, and pretending to a better faith, worship their Maker in buildings not distinguishable from barracks and godorons?"—*Life by Le Bas*, vol. i. p. 120.

bodily and mental, are necessarily required for each. The endowments of men fitted for so high an office are partly the gifts of nature, and partly the result of long training and laborious acquisition. For a man successfully to address himself to a Brahmin it will not be enough that he be personally pious, and zealous, and filled with a compassionate love of souls; not enough for him to be fluent in speech and versed in Scripture; nor, on the other hand, in addressing the savages of Africa or New Zealand, is it alone needful that he possess quickness of thought, be kind or prayerful, or even apt at instruction. But besides and over these, there needs an apparatus of means and qualifications adapted to the particular sphere in which he is to be called into action.

Let me instance some of these qualifications, in illustration of the subject.

§ 1. We learn from missionaries of the present day, with what acuteness and subtlety the instructed Hindoo will enter into abstruse argument—how he will sift every statement of an opponent, draw him off into the discussion of an abstract question, involve him in metaphysical intricacies or historical doubts.¹ All the disputations on which years of controversy have been expended, will be torn open and renewed, as if objections of the kind had never

¹ Church of Scotland's India Mission, by Dr. Duff, p. 9. The same thing is instanced in the life of Xavier, translated by Dryden, pp. 332, 376.

before been made or answered. The Bible is searched "for the express purpose of impugning its sacred contents."¹ And besides this, the partial introduction of European philosophy has produced in India a new school of disputants. Rejecting the more glaring absurdities, they yet retain the principle of Pantheism, and, combining with it parts of European systems, have formed them into a new theosophic compound. Hence, exactly the same process that took place in Alexandria among the Platonists and Eclectics, is adopted now by the more enlightened heathen in Calcutta, and is, indeed, but a natural result when philosophic paganism is being assaulted and sifted by the truth.² They endeavour to strengthen the former by subsidies from the latter. Adopting the language of a liberal philosophy, they assert that "the Deity has appointed to each tribe its own faith; that he views with complacency in each particular place the mode of worship respectively appointed to it; sometimes he is employed with the attendants on the Mosque, sometimes he is in the Temple at the adoration of idols, the friend of Mussulman and Hindoo, and

¹ Missions the chief End of the Christian Church, by Dr. Duff, p. 122.

² Ibid. p. 119. Professor Wilson, in his second Lecture, On the Religious Practices and Principles of the Hindus, p. 66, remarks that "the Hindus traverse the very same ground that was familiarly trodden by the philosophers of Greece and Rome, and pursue the same ends by the same or similar paths."

the companion of the Christian.”¹ So that the various forms of antagonism to the Christian faith which once assailed it by direct opposition or by false liberality, are reviving again under the auspices of Hindu Eclectics or Unitarians.² And it will follow from hence that no common acquirements or powers are needed for such an arena as this, but that some missionaries, at least, must be specially prepared, if they are to contend successfully with this race of subtle dialecticians.

§ 2. But another class of qualifications will be required under a different class of circumstances. Scarcely is there a greater difficulty, at times, than to attract the attention, or (still more) to gain the confidence of the heathen. In the first ages this was achieved by the miraculous powers possessed by apostolic men. The means placed in European hands for accomplishing the same effect now, is the superiority in arts and sciences, which strike the heathen as “coming down from above.” It was by the possession of knowledge such as this that the Jesuits made their wonderful advance in China, and rose to the highest stations of confi-

¹ Preface to the code of Hindu Law, compiled by command of Warren Hastings. Professor Wilson’s first Lect. p. 37. Duff, *ut sup.* p. 120, who quotes the words.

² The system framed by Rammohun Roy, the late Hindu Reformer, is simple Deism. A Society first formed by him exists at Calcutta. The members meet together each Sunday for Divine Service; and an English newspaper is conducted by some of them, advocating the opinions of the party “with remarkable boldness and ability.”—Professor Wilson’s first Lect. p. 12.

dence, and were entrusted with the education of princes. Astronomy, chemistry, the arts of surveying, even mechanical skill, above all, the sacred art, as it is deemed, of medicine, were the instruments by which they secured to themselves an amount of influence, which might have procured the conversion of that vast empire. Among barbarous natives this is the one source of conciliation and power, as well as an effective instrument of their improvement. The advance made in Africa by Islamism, the only instance of a bloodless conquest obtained by that crusading faith, has been achieved by the mysterious influence of letters and science on the half-reasoning mind of the negro. The practice of the commoner arts first drew the savages of South America round the Moravian missionaries, and, of later years, round the teachers in the Pacific islands, just as centuries before they drew the rude Ostrogoth to the convent of Monte-Cassino, and, under the guidance of St. Benedict, tamed his hardy energy by the gentler occupations of peace.¹ And if any vigorous and systematic effort is to be made, missionaries destined for more uncivilized countries—nay, for the more advanced nations, especially China, where knowledge is peculiarly the source of power—need

¹ Guizot, *Cours d'Histoire moderne*, vol. i. p. 172, quoted by Blumhardt, vol. ii. p. 182. St. Benedict was the first who made agricultural labour a part of the monastic discipline; he himself laboured, and so employed the Goths who joined his convent. See *Acta Sanct. Sæc. I. præfat. No. CXIII.*, and *Vita S. Mauri*, § 13, p. 265.

to be equipped with the appliances of European skill.

§ 3. And further, it is clear, on the first glance,—and so clear as to make the neglect the more strange,—that, before any effectual intercourse with nations of a foreign clime can be maintained, familiar acquaintance with the vernacular and even provincial dialects of the country will be required. Years have been lost by missionaries in acquiring, on the field of their labour, this prerequisite of their labouring at all. However zealous and burning to impart their message, they have stood among the heathen with sealed lips; or have communicated broken sentences of truth, by the stammering tongue of an interpreter. And when we consider that the large portion of missionaries in the vast field of India have sunk under their exhausting toils within the first six or seven years of their sojourn,¹ we must learn how indispensably needful it is that such labourers as are sent should go forth acquainted, in a large measure, with the language,² with the habits, too, of thought, and prejudice, and association, of those to whom they are to make known the

¹ Duff's India, &c. p. 328.

² In this respect, we have an instance of the care which the Church of Rome bestows in providing the fittest instruments for the work to be done. On the "Feast of Languages," recitations are made in almost every known tongue by pupils of the Propaganda. When Lord Macartney was sent to China, the King of England begged some of the scholars from the Propaganda to accompany the embassy as interpreters. They were given on certain conditions, and went.—De Maistre, du Pape, p. 280.

message of salvation, and thus be possessed of the power of doing so, before both body and spirit are consumed under the combined action of fatigue, anxiety, and disappointment.

That such qualifications are needed will be at once admitted; and two inferences follow upon the statement. It will be felt, first, that, in prosecuting the work of evangelizing the heathen, there must needs be a distribution of offices, so that each individual may be assigned, according to his powers, to the field in which he is best qualified to fight the Lord's battles:—and, secondly, that, in some countries, where various classes of men are to be addressed, there should be a brotherhood, possessing among themselves such acquirements as have been named, each exercising his own gift, and all cooperating towards the proposed end. It is too much to expect any one, it is too cruel to allow any one, to engage in the task of combining all qualifications, to study, to labour, to preach, to translate, to gather in, and then organize, to instruct the young, to exhibit the austere life of a saint, and the physical energy of an evangelist.¹

¹ There is a splendid passage in St. Chrysostom, (De Sacerdot. lib. iv. § 4,) setting forth the acquirements needed by one “instructed unto the kingdom of heaven;” which, though it may seem to militate against what is here said, does not so in reality, and is too beautiful to be omitted. *καὶ δεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα τὴν πρὸς πάντας ἀναδέχεσθαι μάχην, τὰς ἀπάντων εἰδέναι τέχνας· καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοξότην τε εἶναι καὶ σφενδονίστην, καὶ στρατιώτην, καὶ στρατηγὸν, καὶ πεζὸν, καὶ ἵππεά, καὶ ναυμάχην, καὶ τειχομάχην.* He is speaking of but *one* department of the work required in a missionary, viz. meeting unbelievers or misbelievers in discussion.

We may, indeed, send men, one by one, ready to attempt this and die in the attempt, and be snatched off in the very first budding of success ; but such conduct evinces not the tender care of a parent who would husband the strength of her children, nor the wise prudence of a servant who would do the work of his master most successfully. Had this care been felt and exercised, we should not, it may be, have seen the noble spirit of Henry Martyn, the one burning light in our missionary enterprises, toiling in his multifarious labour, exhausted and worn away in sorrow of heart under it. With his rare gifts and saintly devotion, had his powers been but associated with a system, and directed in their due exercise, he might have been spared to confront with larger success the creed of the Prophet, might have risen to be an apostle to Mahometans, and have nerved many a kindred soul, by his example, to the same ennobling enterprise.

But, secondly, the conviction will arise that an institution is demanded, wherein the soldiers of Christ who give themselves to this elevating service may be trained and instructed, where their powers may be called out and tried, where they may learn to endure hardness, and practise discipline, and each have his allotted task assigned on which he may concentrate his powers. It was thus, in the middle ages, that seminaries were attached to the religious houses, which were the citadels of Chris-

tianity. As early as at the close of the fourth century, Lerins became the source of enlightenment to southern France. The monastic houses at Bangor, Iona, Lindisfarne, and Neuf-Corbie, were for centuries the nurseries of evangelists for northern Europe;¹ and within their seminaries were trained those master spirits to whom the Christianity of nations is due, Columban, St. Gall, Aidan, Boniface, and Anschar.² In the sixteenth century similar institutions were founded by the Church of Rome,—twenty-three by one Pontiff alone,³—and subsequently were attached to all religious houses.⁴ By these means the missionary temper of the Moravians is kept bright and keen, whose instruction of their youth is saturated with an interest for the heathen. And with this lesson before us, we need not inquire why so few have vowed themselves to this work amongst ourselves, why this apostolic service has been deemed extravagant and without repute, has been consigned to the lowlier ranks of life, or left to German emissaries. Seminaries such as these are the chief spring of the Church's action, in all its functions; and it will be a bright dawn

¹ Neander, *Allgemeine Geschichte*, vol. iii. p. 17.

² Columban and St. Gall were both trained at Bangor. Aidan was an inmate of the monastery in Iona, and was afterwards appointed to the see of Lindisfarne, which was the nursery of evangelical labourers in the north of England. Anschar belonged to the fraternity at Neuf-Corbie.

³ By Gregory XIII. Thomas à Jesu, *De Proc. omn. Gent. Sal. lib. iii. cap. iii. p. 111.*

⁴ Clement XI. so ordained by decree in 1707.

of more vigorous effort,—a fresh hope for the heathen world,—when that scheme, which, at the pleading and strong entreaty of prelates from the southern isles,¹ is now being enterprized and projected under auspices so happy, shall be matured; and amid the imposing monuments of piety set apart for God's honour and worship that surround us, surely none will be more honourable than that dedicated to Christ for the salvation of the heathen.

But the mention of these mediæval seminaries suggests another practice of the early Church, which recent experience has proved to be largely needed in our advances upon civilized nations; viz. the instruction of converts, both before and after their being joined to the fold of Christ. It is true that numerous schools for *children* are provided in most missionary stations.² But this is not sufficient: to be effectual in influencing the mind of a people, instruction must be addressed also to maturer intellects.³ And both of these

¹ See Appendix, No. XXXVIII.

² It is, however, the universal confession, that but very few of the children, so educated, embrace the Christian faith, owing, of course, to their intercourse with their heathen relations at home. See Bishop of Madras's Letter in Church Missionary Record, July, 1813, p. 161; and Native Female Education, by K. M. Bannerjea, p. 106; compare also what Bishop Heber says, Journal, vol. i. p. 379, and Formby's Visit to the East, p. 165.

³ This was evidenced in a letter from Mr. Tucker, secretary of the Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society at Madras, quoted at the end of Hough's Vindication of Protestant Missions. The Madras Diocesan Institution, supported by the

objects were included in the catechetical schools of antiquity. The celebrated school of Alexandria needs only to be mentioned,¹ signalized by the lectures and writings of Pantænus, Clement, and Origen, where, meeting on the common ground of Greek philosophy, the more enlightened among the inquiring heathen might be instructed, and led to the acquisition of Divine truth. The thirst for education and European knowledge that advances with rapid progression among the nations of the East demands that it should be met in the same way. The two most remarkable conversions, in Calcutta, of educated natives, one of them of the highest caste, effected by means of public discussions on natural and revealed religion, prove how vast the efficacy of such schools might be in the

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, seems calculated to meet the want expressed: only Mr. Tucker proposed to add to such an Institution lectures on scientific and religious subjects; and pointed to Dr. Duff's establishment at Calcutta as an instance of what he designed. This latter point seems well deserving of attention.

¹ The catechetical school of Alexandria was twofold; the elementary division, or "catechumenorum schola," in which neophytes were instructed in the rudiments of the Christian faith; the higher division, and later in point of establishment, called by Eusebius (H. E. lib. vi. c. 3) τὸ τῆς κατηχήσεως διδασκαλεῖον, in which lectures on theology and ethics, embracing the systems of heathen philosophy, were delivered to more advanced Christians, and the heathen who might attend. See Guerike, de Scholâ Alex. Catechetiâ, cap. iii. p. 100, *et seq.* Prof. Burton conjectures that the "Exhortation to the Heathen," and the "Pædagogus" of Clement, were the substance of lectures delivered by him in the Catechetical school. Lect. on Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 206.

hands of able men.¹ Let it be borne in mind, also, that the method of educating the mass must be through the well-instructed few, rather than by an elementary teaching of the many.² Therefore should the Church take part in this onward movement, if the moral regeneration of the Indian people is to keep pace with its intellectual advancement ; she must show that she is ready and powerful to form and educate the heathen mind, to remedy the defective, and therefore faulty method, by which this task has hitherto been attempted. For it was first essayed by colleges for the revival of Hindoo and Sanskrit literature ;³ these have since given way to a mere secular education in European science, apart from all religious knowledge.⁴ Dangerous as such a procedure is at all times, what result must be expected among a people in whom the religious affection is manifested with peculiar strength, and in whose mind all science has ever been intimately blended with the dogmas of theology ? To subvert these, and, in the room of the old and varied fabric, to present the abstractions of philosophy and science, will secure an immediate infidelity, and probably, after a series of convulsions, and in

¹ These discussions were conducted by Dr. Duff, and a detailed account of them and of the very striking results with which they were blessed to the two young men alluded to, is given in the Appendix to his *India and Indian Missions*, p. 607.

² Trevelyan on Education in India, p. 47.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 4, 5, &c.

⁴ Duff's *Vindication*, &c. p. 29. *India, and Indian Missions*, p. 608.

the absence of any substitute, will lead to a resettling of the national mind upon the old superstition, the abandonment of which entailed only misery and ruin.¹

But an institution that should meet this want might subserve, too, another end. Many are the touching accounts of the entire abandonment and rejection to which the Hindoo is consigned on apostasy from his native faith. He is at once an outcast. In the first ages, probably in the house of the catechumens,² and in the middle ages, certainly, within the monastic house, such, when forsaken of father and mother, would have sought an asylum. Here, slaves redeemed by the apostolic men who first preached in Germany, found a refuge, and from hence, in subsequent years, they went forth, the most powerful agents in converting the heathen, a body of native evangelists. All experience has shown that no ordinary training and education is needed to fit a native for gaining influence over the minds of his fellow-countrymen, and yet the Gospel cannot win its way without this agency. Thus, while an asylum were offered to the homeless, a disciplined life would be secured in connexion with schools of Christian science; and as these failed not to acquire ascendancy over the old pagan mind

¹ Duff's India, &c. p. 269.

² Recognit. S. Clement. lib. ii. *ad fin.* apud Cotelarii Patr. Apost. tom. i. p. 524, quoted by Thomas à Jesu, de Proc. omn. Gent. Sal. p. 872, for the establishment of such an institution. He recommends that in such a refuge the destitute should be retained, p. 908.

armed with twice the truth that is contained in the present mythologic systems of the East, so will they not now fail to raise up a race of men able, not to receive only, but to perpetuate the Faith of Christ, and to build up a native Church in the midst of their own homes and the temples of their forsaken idols.

Thus I have endeavoured to point out some of those wants which are felt in the conduct of our missions; and how in past ages they were wont to be supplied. They have been suggested chiefly by the recorded experience of men now labouring in the harvest-field of souls. One more need remains to be noticed, but this must be deferred.

Let me revert, in a few words, to the point from which I set out. Nothing has been said on the wide subject of the unity of the whole Church Catholic, the one great want of Christendom; and of this it would be presumptuous to speak. It is indeed the condition of the word of God being glorified widely, fully, speedily. As some blessings have for many long years been undoubtedly forfeited through the loss of it; so, on this account also, the exceeding honour of evangelizing the whole world, is, it may be, indefinitely suspended. And for this cause the work of the Church may be, in the same degree, protracted; it may have to go on toiling in broken disorder, doing its task in great trouble, in fear and uncertainty, and reaping its fruit only partially and at intervals. Upon this, however,

I venture not to dwell.¹ Yet as regards the procedures of our branch of the Church within itself, we may direct our desires and endeavours towards the drawing out of those hidden powers which lie folded up within its divine system, and which are inherent in its unity. We cannot, indeed, look around us without seeing a stirring and converging of men's hearts towards this point ; we cannot but recognise instinctive strivings after it, though it be in the narrow and really baseless schemes of union by which the want is sought to be supplied. We may accept even these as tokens for good ; and yet only the more, in patience and submission, aim at calling forth those living principles of action within the Church, which, directed by its spiritual rulers, as the centre of its energies, may bear with them the sympathies and willing cooperation of the whole body. We may be content to bear for a time the taunt, when we are told that we are possessed of no uniting principle, that we have lost all claim to it, all the semblance of apostolic discipline ; that we have no concentrated action, nor uniform system ; that our power is frittered away in independent irregular doings, and rival associations ; that we neither consolidate at home, nor present a compacted front

¹ For it formed the subject of the admirable Sermon of the Bishop of Salisbury, preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and published in the Report for 1842. The same topic has been since handled also by a prelate of the American Church, in a Sermon entitled "The Church upon her Knees," by the Bishop of New Jersey.

against the adversary abroad ;—we may be content to be still, and, as an omen of the coming day when those who bear us evil will shall be able no longer to use any such proverb, may recur in grateful recollection to the auspicious and moving scene, when, under the shadow of one of its most ancient and hallowed sanctuaries, the Church did consecrate to the pastoral office, and did send forth to our country's most distant dependencies, yea, to earth's utmost limits, five of its chosen children, to be the centres of its visible unity, the vicegerents of its rule, the channels of its apostolic gifts and ministrations.¹

Yet this is but the earnest of greater doings. And only the more vigorously must we second these efforts, and prepare to meet the call when labourers are demanded for the whitening harvest. These leadings of God's providence are surely only drawing on larger results. They cannot stay. Fresh success will demand fresh sacrifice. And the Church at home, if it is to share in the glorious enterprize, must enter on the field with the Church abroad. Though occupying a securer post, and further removed from the scene of strife, still it is militant ; it is only not in the first ranks, it must bear its portion of toil. It must support, counsel, repair

¹ On the feast of St. Bartholomew, 1842, the edifying sight was given to the Church, of the five Bishops of Barbados, Gibraltar, Antigua, British Guiana, and Tasmania, being consecrated in Westminster Abbey.

losses, encourage, supply the whole armoury of warfare; and this surely must be done systematically, with careful earnestness, as carrying the very will of Christ into effect. For it is not merely in the unity of operation and external system, but in the energetic unity of a sanctified will acting in these, that the strength of the Church resides, before which the enemies of the Lord will give way, and the gainsayers of the Truth be put to silence.

LECTURE VIII.

THE PROSPECTS AND ENCOURAGEMENTS OF OUR MISSIONARY ENTERPRIZES.

ISAIAH LIX. 19.

SO SHALL THEY FEAR THE NAME OF THE LORD FROM THE WEST,
AND HIS GLORY FROM THE RISING OF THE SUN. WHEN THE
ENEMY SHALL COME IN LIKE A FLOOD, THE SPIRIT OF THE LORD
SHALL LIFT UP A STANDARD AGAINST HIM.

THE past missionary efforts of the Church, when viewed in reference to the extensive and varied tracts of heathenism that lie before it, can be deemed only as inceptive and experimental. They resemble but the essays of the messengers sent to make trial of the land of promise, to ascertain the character of its natives, and bring back some first-fruits of its produce. A more organized movement, resolute and concentrated action, will be required, to take possession of each portion of the inheritance.¹ Some of those modes of action which

¹ This is strongly urged in a tract entitled, "New Model of Christian Missions," published in 1829, by the author of "The Natural History of Enthusiasm," who may be supposed to represent the nonconforming Protestant bodies. He says that "the

seem most needed for executing what is to be done have been already adverted to; and I would now take up the subject, and notice the one further deficiency which, as was observed, presents itself in our missionary transactions. It is the want of some body of instructions, for the guidance of the missionaries in their intercourse with the various classes of heathen.

Questions must, day by day, present themselves to the missionary, in which he is now thrown back on his own resources, skill, and judgment, either for solving them or for determining his own line of action,—on which, nevertheless, a wider and more deliberate view of his position, of the character, religious system, or prejudices of those with whom he is brought in contact, might supply a specific rule of conduct. Some time, no doubt, is needed, and considerable experience, in operations of large compass, before the real difficulties that beset them can be discerned, their bearings ascertained, or those principles evolved upon which they may successfully be met. Yet most of the questions that arise are now no longer new; a vast unsorted mass of information respecting them is in our hands, and

modern system of missionary exertion, taken as a whole, is *fundamentally defective*, and such as can never, except miracle come to its aid, achieve an extensive conquest for Christianity," p. 8. And yet, surely a miracle would be no less needed to provide his remedy, viz. an "universal and harmonious association" of all Protestant communities. Still his evidence is important as pointing out the need of *one body* to secure success.

facts are ascertained sufficiently numerous to allow of inductions being drawn from them, or at least a judgment being expressed. Perhaps it will be best perceived how requisite is some such code of instructions, if I proceed, in illustration, to adduce one or two cases on which perplexities and contradictory views may exist, and yet on a right treatment of which the whole success of a mission may depend.

1. The first and most important is, the way in which the heathen mind should be met in setting before it the Gospel of Salvation.

It will appear from what has been already said, that a different method will be needed in the treatment of the civilized and the uncivilized,—of those whose minds are already moulded and fashioned by a definite creed and system of worship, and those whose religion consists only of a blind and senseless superstition, and rude idolatry. And further than this ; in respect to the former, both *à priori* reasoning and apostolic practice would suggest, what experience leads us to conclude, that the attempt to produce conviction should not be made by advancing at once the high and most holy doctrines which lie at the centre of the Christian faith. The chief argument in support of such a mode of proceeding has been drawn from the often-cited testimony of the Moravian missionaries, who, in their conversion of the Greenlanders, record, that it was not until they preached “ ‘ Christ and him cruci-

fied,' *without first 'laying the foundation of repentance from dead works, and faith towards God,'*" that any effect was seen to follow on their labours.¹ And upon this, and one or two similar instances, a modern theory of conversion has been built. But in this case, as in all with which I am acquainted, a long preparatory process had preceded this appearance of fruit. For seven years the Moravians had been instructing these savages: for twelve years previously, the Danes had been civilizing and teaching them;² and some result was therefore reasonably at that time to be expected. A similar appearance of success occurred in the southern isles in a like sudden way, after years of night toil, in which nothing had been taken; yet in this case there was no variation in the mode of teaching, so that the change is referable to some other cause. But even supposing such a mode of instruction to be fitted for minds destitute of any systematic creed, and sunk in much misery and personal degradation, yet pursue the same method with a cultivated oriental, and the doctrine will be assailed by a searching and sifting analysis. Evidence will be demanded, and when it is produced, the facts on which it rests will be disputed, and the

¹ Missions of the United Brethren, pp. 30, 31.

² Matth. and Christl. Stach went to Greenland in 1733, and were welcomed by Hans Egede, who had been labouring there since 1721. The commencement of success, mentioned above, occurred in 1740. Brown's Missions, vol. i. p. 241, Missions of United Brethren, pp. 12, 30.

reasonings evaded; chronology and history will be denied, or met by some counter system of such magnitude that, in comparison with it the former will appear contemptible; and the whole discussion will probably be thrown back upon some abstract question of philosophy or natural theology.¹ So that either these obstacles must be previously removed, or else some common principles of belief be sought from which the peculiar doctrines of the Christian faith may be evolved and thus recommended to the acceptance of the disputant.

And hence arises a consideration of peculiar interest. All researches upon the subject have confirmed the fact,—and there could not be a more engaging study than fully to verify it,—that throughout the heathen world there lie scattered the seeds of a primæval tradition, sometimes nearly obliterated, or mixed with fable, sometimes overlaid by a vast and extravagant mythology, or absorbed in some philosophic theory; still supplying those elements of truth through which the systems by which they are obscured exist at all, and become productive of any social benefits. Now in these traditional revelations the germ of the Gospel may be said to exist, as it did when they were first communicated to man. And in reasoning with the thoughtful and intelligent, it would seem the one plan of winning the way to their conviction and

acceptance of the Divine faith, to appeal to these primal truths, and, through the expansion and full development of them, to dislodge and shake off the mass of error with which they are encrusted. It would seem the way to conciliate prejudice, and break down that posture of antagonism which the mind naturally assumes, when its faith is directly assailed. And the slightest examination of the method of instruction pursued by our blessed Lord,—how He dispensed to His disciples His heavenly truths, each one in its season, drawing it out as they were able to bear it; sometimes basing His lessons on the law of nature, sometimes unfolding them from the germinal principles in which they lay involved in the law of Moses;—or of the method adopted by St. Paul, when he reasoned with Felix, or preached to the Athenians, or expounded the Scriptures to the Jews;—or further, of the analogy that may be drawn from the whole course of growth, expansion, and gradual increase, by which the revelation of the Gospel, through long prophetic periods, was ushered into the world;—all this would teach us that a certain economy of instruction is the ordained method for enlightening and convincing the human mind,—that an appeal to common principles of belief will more surely and effectually conduce to the acknowledgment of the truth, than a naked announcement of the deep things and unsearchable riches of Christ. And it is deeply interesting to observe how later and more accurate

investigations into heathen, and especially Oriental systems, have opened up these latent elements of truth, these points of contact with the heathen mind. The first discovery of some of these was largely used by infidels of the last century as an objection to Christianity, as though it were only a borrowed form of Eastern mythology, a development of moral truth upon this basis. For instance, the doctrine of a divine Triad which more or less explicitly pervades the Brahmanic, Confucian, and Buddhistic systems;¹—the existence of a mediatorial scheme, through incarnations of the Deity, for the destruction of the enemies of man;—the indwelling of the Divine Presence in the subordinate works of His creation;—the remarkable existence, in the philosophic system of Lao-tsze, of the three letters forming the ineffable name of God;²—the appearance, in one of the Puranas, which forms the text-book for the adoration of the infant Krishna, of coincidences

¹ The Brahmanic and Buddhistic triad are well-known. "The Confucians," says Mr. Medhurst, "speak of the three powers of nature,—heaven, earth, and man; the Taouists, (followers of Lao-tsze,) have some references to the 'three pure ones,' who combine themselves in the essence of eternal reason."—China, p. 218. "Quand les Tibétains prêtent serment, ils invoquent le Kandja-soum (c'est-à-dire le Dieu triple; Kandja signifiant Dieu, et soum trois.) Ils disent cependant qu'ils n'y a qu'un Dieu,—et que des autres, l'un est son prophète, et l'autre son Verbe, et que l'union des trois dans la formule du serment se rapporte à un seul Dieu." Quoted from "Relation d'un Voyage dans l'Asie centrale par Mir l'zzet-ullah, en 1812," by M. Abel Remusat, "Relation des Voyages Bouddhiques," p. 42.

² Appendix, No. XXXIX.

in doctrine and even in language, with the truths of Christianity ;¹—the threefold hierarchy, the monastic institutions, the yearly period set apart for abstinence and humiliation, which were found to prevail in Thibet, Japan, and Siam ;²—the striking correspondence between the religion of the Lama and forms of Christian worship, especially as they prevail in the Church of Rome ;³—all these analogies, while they at first startled the sensitive faith of some Christians, were used as grounds of insinuation by sceptics against the divine origin of the Gospel. The argument that was thus attempted to be drawn from them has, indeed, by subsequent researches been completely refuted, by the discovery of the intercourse that existed between China and Persia, during the Jewish captivity ; of the pilgrimage of the Chinese sages, at that period, to the latter country,⁴ from whence, no doubt, was gained the acquaintance with the sacred name of Jehovah ; of the recent origin of Lamaism, subsequent to the missions of the Nestorians ;⁵ of the modern date of

¹ Appendix, No. XL.

² See *Annales de la Foi*, vol. v. pp. 111, 134, for these coincidences in Siam ; Böhlen, *das alte Indien*, p. 336, &c. for Thibet ; the *Atlas Japonensis*, by Arnoldus Montanus, p. 249, (quoted in *Lect. V.* p. 148, note,) for Japan.

³ Appendix, No. XLI.

⁴ M. Remusat, *Relat. des Voyages Bouddhiques*, *Introd.* p. xlii. Dr. Wiseman, (*Lect. XI.* on Science and Revealed Religion,) refers to another work of M. Remusat, *Mémoire sur la Vie et les Opinions de Lao-tseu*, &c., in support of this opinion.

⁵ Lamaism, that is, in *its present form*, which, according to M. Remusat, (*Relation*, &c. *Introd.* p. xxii.) was established in

the Purana alluded to (as modern probably as the twelfth century of our era¹); and by the reference of other points to that primal traditional revelation, which, throughout the whole world, has left traces of itself even in the most degraded superstitions, and by which, as well as by His providences and mercies, God has not left Himself without a witness among men.

But my chief object in adducing these topics has not been to notice the sceptical objections that have been founded on them. The researches that have been made into different forms of superstition, have discovered remarkable coincidences in the religions of the most distant countries, which seem to establish the identity of their origin in one primæval revelation; and in the fragments of traditional truths, which they have traced, they present so many points of sympathy and contact with the heathen, of which any one who aimed at leading them from their error, would do well to avail himself.² It was thus

Thibet, on the third outbreak of Buddhism, in the 13th century. It cannot, however, be doubted, but that a modified system of Lamaism pervaded these Eastern countries for centuries before this period, and is identical with the Religion of Japan and Siam. See the preceding Appendix, No. XLI.

¹ Prof. Wilson's Lect. on the Hindus, p. 26.

² See the "rational and ingenious" mode of persuasion recommended by Daniel, first Bishop of Winchester, A.D. 723, to Boniface, who was preaching in Thuringia. The letter is contained in Bede's Hist. Eccl. Angl. lib. v. c. 18, and is quoted by Gibbon, vol. iii. p. 531, 4to edit. See also Appendix, No. XLII. for an eloquent exposition of the course of argument with which Mahometans should be addressed.

that the earlier fathers met the instructed pagan on the common ground of the Greek philosophy ; and the writings of Clement of Alexandria may be justly viewed as of a completely missionary character. And it would be of extreme service if arguments founded upon these traditional truths and practices, either transmitted or imported, were drawn out, and a manual of instruction provided by which the missionary might be prepared to meet the heathen disputant, and gain his confidence at the outset,—or at least not be obliged, as is now not unfrequently the case, to retire before a numerous assemblage in discomfiture.

2. A second question, connected closely with this, will arise, as to the order in which the Gospel truths and precepts should be set before the inquiring heathen, not merely to convince his understanding, and obtain a hearing for Christian truth, but to awaken in his heart a belief unto salvation. A method seems largely to have prevailed among many Protestants, so largely as to be almost the received rule of action, to appeal at once to the inward work of the Spirit upon the heart, to aim at rousing the spiritual affections by urging their necessity, and demanding their excitement, and to make these the test of fitness for Holy Baptism ; to require an *experience*, rather than an *acceptance* of the truth, a *desire*, rather than a *purpose of the will* to obey.¹ It might without

¹ Appendix, No. XLIII.

difficulty be shown how really powerless such an attempt to force into ripeness the higher graces of the Spirit is likely to be, how subversive, too, of the true character of faith, which has its basis laid in the reception of specific truths, on which it gazes till the inward affections of the heart are kindled by them into living energy. It will be enough to contrast it with the plan of teaching recommended by St. Augustine, in his Treatise on Catechizing the Uninstructed, in which he sets forth the scheme of Divine truth in its due proportions, in order to lead the inquiring soul to the reception of Christ; and throughout which he exhibits the redemption of the Church, by the recital of the manifold counsels or dealings of God with man, and of the life and death of the Redeemer.¹ In accordance with this method of *objective* teaching were the rules given, from time to time, to missionaries in the middle ages, which might profitably be examined.² The solemn series of external truths contained in the Creed, and professed ever at Baptism, confirms this mode of proceeding; and an instance of its efficacy is recorded in the conversion of the disputant at the first Nicene Council, who, after fruitless discussions, on hearing the symbol of faith recited, yielded himself up to the virtue that went forth from the lips of the speaker, nor could longer withstand

¹ Appendix, No. XLIV.² Appendix, No. XLV.

God.¹ Nor is it a principle of slight import that is involved in a point on which the acceptance or rejection of the Gospel, the salvation or ruin of a soul, may depend. The comprehensive works provided for the Roman Catholic missionaries assert the need of such a code of missionary institutes, to furnish with his due treasure of “things new and old” the scribe which is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven;”² but there seems yet to be no sufficient guide to which the missionary of our

¹ The narrative is related by Rufinus, Hist. Eccl. lib. x. cap. 3, and is quoted by Franciscus à Breno, in the *Manuale Missionariorum Orientalium*, tom. ii. p. 454 . . . “At uno ex confessoribus Episcopis qui aderant ibi, miræ viro simplicitatis, Symbolum Fidei proponente, statim arma abiecit, seque ultro felici calamitate subactum asseruit. Ut enim ipse dicebat, ad eos, qui tam subitanæ mutationis stupore fuerant abrepti, conversus: ‘Donec,’ inquit, ‘verbis mecum gesta res est, verbis verba opposui, et quæ dicebantur dicendi arte subverti: ubi vero pro verbis processit virtus ex ore dicentis, non potuerunt verba resistere virtuti, nec homo adversari potuit Deo.’”—So too Fr. Xavier acted: He entered a pagoda where two hundred Brahmins were assembled; and asked them, on the performance of what precept their deities promised future happiness? An aged man, for the rest, gave an idle answer:—“Cette réponse,” writes Xavier, “me troubla, et jeta dans mon âme une profonde douleur, en voyant jusqu’à quel point le démon aveugle les hommes, en se donnant à leur imagination pour une divinité. Je le priai à mon tour de m’écouter. Alors je recitai à haute voix le symbole des Apôtres, et les commandemens de Dieu.” *Lettre XIV. vol. i. p. 205.*

² The principal Roman Catholic treatises to which I have had access, are, *De Procurandâ Salute omnium Gentium*, by Thomas à Jesu, ordinis Carmelitarum discalceatorum, Antverpiæ, 1613;—*Manuale Missionariorum Orientalium*, by Franciscus à Breno, ordinis Minorum strictioris Observantiæ, Venetiis, 1726;—and the treatise, *De Promulgatione Evangelii apud Barbaros*, by Josephus Acosta, Societ. Jesu. Colon. Agripp. 1596.

communion may refer with confidence for the solution of his doubts.¹

3. And still further, the history of past intercourse with the eastern nations, the controversies which agitated and finally marred the Roman missions, must convince us that there are several points, in relation to their language and religious practices, which need to be examined and settled. Should it please God that our Church be planted in our territories bordering on the Chinese empire, should an entering in be obtained among that ancient nation with its teeming population, the very language has to be ascertained in which the God of heaven and earth is to be announced. I allude, of course, to the disputes on the application to Jehovah of the terms used in the Confucian philosophy, the "heaven" (Tiën), and the "Sovereign Ruler" (Xang-ti), which, as was truly asserted against the Jesuit missionaries who employed them, convey at the best only the notion of an invisible power, but not of a Supreme God.² It appears that the

¹ The admirable Essay by Bishop Wilson, of Sodor and Man, on the Knowledge and Practice of Christianity, intended originally for the instruction of the American Indian, is well known, and contains an excellent digest of elementary teaching.

² Thus Mosheim interprets the meaning of the words Tiën and Xang-ti. On the other hand, an authority quoted in the *Annales*, vol. ii. p. 244, asserts that the word *Tiën* signifies the material heaven. Gutzlaff in the same way affirms that "the present generation understand by it the material heaven." *History of China*, vol. ii. p. 136. The use of these words was forbidden, and another substituted in their place, by the bull of Clement XI. in 1715, in the following terms: "Cum Deus optimus maximus

Chinese have no adequate term to express this idea. Numberless other questions besides have arisen, and must arise, as to the permission in Christians of several national rites and ceremonies, on which it is the more difficult to determine, since they are connected with those primary moral principles on which the whole framework of the Chinese polity is built.¹ It is true that, in respect of language, after years of contention and scandal, the foregoing terms were rejected, and a mode of speech for declaring the name of the Most High was sanctioned by the see of Rome, and that a decision was pronounced relative to most of the ceremonies on which controversy had arisen; but neither in the latter case can we conclude at once that this judgment may consist with a more rigorous adherence to the purity of Christian doctrine and practice, nor, in the former, can we think inquiry superseded, since the late learned researches of M. Abel Remusat inform us how far we are from appreciating the real meaning of the Buddhistic writings of the

congruè apud Sinas vocabulis Europæis exprimi nequeat, ad eundem verum Deum significandum, vocabulum *Tien Chu*, hoc est, *cæli Dominus*, quod à Sinensibus missionariis et fidelibus longo ac probato usu receptum esse dignoscitur, admittendum esse: nomina vero *Tien*, *cælum*, et *Xang-ti*, *supremus Imperator*, penitus rejicienda."

¹ These other ceremonies consisted of sacrifices to Confucius, oblations at the tombs of ancestors, tablets suspended in private dwellings with the title "The throne of the soul of ——" inscribed on it, before which offerings were made. They are mentioned in the above-named Bull, which is quoted in Norbert, *Mém. Histor.* vol. ii. Part III. p. 46.

Chinese, or comprehending the terms by which spiritual things are expressed; from an ignorance of which, as he remarks, the whole system has met with a contempt by the missionaries which it did not deserve, and which has only rooted its votaries deeper in their belief.¹ These are not imaginary difficulties, but real questions of Christian prudence, which cannot be evaded; for these systems must be fairly met and grasped, if they are to be deposed, and if the Gospel is to take their place in the mind of that remarkable nation; the solution of them is too solemn to be left to the judgment of any one prelate (should such be appointed) however competent to entertain them; they are not mere matters of form which may be allowed to pass unheeded, for they have once already been the cause of discomfiture to Christianity: and from being so deeply interwoven with national prejudice they seem to involve more serious results than any of those points of conduct, in the days of apostolic Christianity, on which the intervention and judgment of St. Paul were required.

Of a like character with this is the subject of several Pagan practices in India, especially of caste, the existence of which is frequently referred to as the great obstacle to Christianity, and yet in regard to which no systematic line of conduct has been pursued. For a long period this distinction of race

¹ Relation des Voyages Bouddhiques, Introd. p. v. See Appendix, No. XLVI.

was treated as a civil custom, and was so recognised by our missionaries.¹ In 1826, however, in consequence of several disputes on the subject, the interposition of Bishop Heber was demanded, whose indulgence, arising from an unwillingness to offend native prejudice, was soon followed by so large an introduction of heathen and idolatrous practices, that the purity and sincerity of the Christian profession were jeopardised.² Eight years later, the decision of the present Bishop of Calcutta was required, and on his unqualified condemnation of these observances, as connected with their idolatries, many hundreds of converts, in one district alone, at once withdrew from the communion of the Church.³ Now, here is a vital point undetermined in the treatment of young converts, not to mention other points, the decision of which may vary according to individual judgment; and while this uncertainty lasts, vacillation of faith, inconsistency and probably duplicity of practice, must be the result. Indeed this question of caste forms a main test of sincerity in following Christ. And it must be observed that the difficulty of deciding it will

¹ Brown's Hist. of Missions, vol. i. p. 230. Mr. Trevelyan remarks, that the allowance of caste "was found to encourage the prejudice it was intended to conciliate." Education in India, p. 20. Heber's Journal, vol. iii. p. 445.

² Letter from the Bishop of Calcutta. Report of the S. P. G. 1834—1835, p. 183.

³ Report of Tanjore Mission for 1835. Madras, 1839, p. 25. Two years after, 785 of these Soodras, who had separated, returned to the Church. Ibid. p. 14.

increase just as the ratio of converts increases, whose prejudices may grow into a barrier too formidable to resist ; and therefore there is all the more need for a judgment being pronounced, which may meet the difficulty in its incipient stage, pronounced, too, by that collective apostolic voice, to which is committed the authority to ordain and determine the ceremonies of each particular Church.

And now it is time to draw to a close ; to look back upon the course along which I have endeavoured to conduct you in these Lectures, and to gather from the retrospect such reflections as it may suggest. Such a review as I have been taking might amply repay attention merely as a matter of speculation, as the historic view of a great phenomenon, in a system of religious truth pushing its way into all lands, changing the face of the world, elevating the human race ; it might rivet our interest to trace this system in its anomalous advance of mixed triumph and defeat, humiliation and glory ; sometimes resembling the march of a conqueror controlling subject tribes, and sitting in the high places of the earth ; sometimes the toilsome journeyings of a pilgrim, in sorrow and lowliness witnessing to the truth, and winning, through suffering, the sympathy of strangers. It would be still more engaging to pursue this retrospect for the purpose of extracting from it the evidence

which it supplies to the divine authority of such a system, so upheld, so powerful, to which, in augury of its final and everlasting exaltation, the superstitions of the earth have, one by one, bowed down and done reverence. But an intenser hold is fastened on the mind when such a review issues in the consideration of present duty and of prospective results, when it leads the thoughts onward to the fulfilment of the eternal counsels of God, and fore-shortens into one point of vision the future destinies of the world.

And these are really the subjects upon which our minds should be solemnly fixed. And as, in the first moments of repose after the excitement and fatigue of pursuit are over, the mind is ever wont to reflect on the way that has been traversed, and to contemplate the fruit of its labours, and the reality of that after which it has been striving; so now the question involuntary recurs, whether indeed the great subject which has been before us is more than a dream, whether the extension of the Gospel has a real practical bearing upon us, involving present exertion, and whether in making it we shall be toiling for more than a shadow.

To this consideration I will direct my remaining remarks. The impracticability of such efforts has, indeed, been maintained by some; by others a rationalistic philosophy has caused them to be viewed as simply an outbreak of narrow but fruitless enthusiasm; doubtfulness as to the possibility

of success, arising from the want of present visible effect, has been allowed to dull the sympathies of others; therefore let the justness of these surmises be tested by the criterion of facts past and present; and for this end permit me first cursorily to pass over the leading points which I have endeavoured to illustrate.

I. It is as great a certainty as that the Son of God has appeared in the flesh, that it is His will and command that the Gospel of the kingdom should be preached to all nations. It is to make its way (so revelation declares) gradually, against difficulties and hindrances, until the number of the elect is made up out of many generations, out “of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues.” Christ has constituted the Church His Body, and has commissioned, and endowed, and dwells in it, to form this elect people for Himself, which, as age after age passes away, is being gradually gathered in and added to the invisible company of His saints. And thus, from the day of Pentecost, the Church *has* proceeded on its way. It has ever advanced. No age has been wholly without some fruit of its labours; and though other systems have become stationary, or exhausted, or are unable to carry the human mind on to the higher degrees of moral preeminence, yet the Church has been found equal to the task; and rent though it be, and divided, yet each several portion, like Aaron’s rod, is still instinct with vitality, has budded, and

bloomed, and yielded its fruit. During the first fifteen centuries it mastered the continent and islands of Europe. Other worlds then opened before it, and, as if to meet the fresh demand, the nations of the West rose up to new energy, and became endued with greater intensity of thought and enterprise. Since that time, but one-fifth of the former period has yet elapsed,—scarce enough to witness the opening of the great drama of events that are to be evolved in this new era; and therefore we need not wonder though no great effects be already discerned. Yet in truth the Church has not been stayed even here. For, as has been recounted, wherever the appointed methods for doing God's work have been employed, wherever zeal, and truth, and piety have made the effort, there, in recent days, a measure of blessing has been vouchsafed to reward the toil of the labourer.

Thus an augury for the future may be drawn from the actual progression that has ever marked the course of the Church in past ages. And the review may supply us with another ground of confidence. It is but a common-place reflection, but it has a reality and truth about it that will justify its frequent repetition, and it is a source of encouragement which our first fathers in the faith did not possess, that this progression of the Church has continued under all variety of circumstances, and against all difficulties. When, at the second great period of its expansion, knowledge, humanity, law,

all civil institutions were crumbled to dust, and buried under barbaric invasion, we have seen Christianity survive; yea, gradually rise up with new life from amidst the ruins, clear them away, and reconstruct throughout the face of Europe the fabric of social order; repair the sanctuaries that had been thrown down, and become the regenerator of the West. It could not arrest, indeed, the rushing downfall of exhausted and demoralized civilization (for this was a judgment from God); but it subdued and elevated barbarism, attended it along its tedious course of improvement, drawing out and directing each opening faculty and effort, and leading on the European nations to their present culminating eminence of refinement and knowledge. We have found by experiment that, unlike every other system, it has no local bounds, is shut in by no peculiarities of climate or civil advancement, but has a plastic power which can adapt itself to all distinctions of race; it draws to itself all that is good in human nature, all the lingering principles of truth on which error is based, and represents that unity which still lies at the bottom of all the diversities of religion. It demands not civilization to pioneer its way, for it carries all improvement with it; it is not hindered by preexistent forms of civilized life, for it can appropriate to itself all that is good in them, and correct the rest. Instances of all this have been adduced; some out of all the great families of the

human race have found its sanctuary to be a home; of whatever clime, or superstition, or intellectual power, they have recognized the type of their ideal excellence set forth in the Church of Christ; and therefore there can be nothing in the actual state of nations, there is no phenomenon in human nature to which it is a stranger, or for which it has no charm to draw it within the circle of its own mysterious influence.

II. Or pass from these general thoughts on the past triumphs of the Gospel, to the particular aspect which the pagan nations now present, and see if there be not in them a stirring in the elements of power, which seem gathering towards some great onward movement, and which must either meet in discord and dissolution, or, being drawn round the living centre of truth, move in harmonious concert along the lines of God's providential designs. The uncivilized races of the earth, the aborigines of America and the Southern islands, have been often mentioned; and it is sufficiently seen that European intercourse, unsanctified, tends to their extermination. There is but one power on earth that can save them, and that is the shelter and shield of the Church of Christ.¹ By its aid they may be converted, without it they will perish; and it may be that the Church, if it overspread their land at a

¹ It is a cheering sight to witness the attempt which is made in New Zealand by the Bishop, to rescue the natives from the too probable extinction which they would otherwise suffer from colonial aggression.

later period, will plant itself only over their forgotten graves. But the vast African continent does not appear reserved for such a destiny. Its pestilential climate secures it from European aggression, and the same cause would seem to shut it out from all hope of being evangelized. But a wonderful conjuncture of circumstance has arisen. The sons of Ham in their house of bondage have learned to know the God of Israel, and even now offer themselves to bear back to their native soil the knowledge of His name.¹ Strength to endure its feverish and fatal damps, and zeal to enter on such an enterprise, are here united. There seems an opening of which we cannot calculate the result. Instruction may be needed for the Negroes, who are themselves but babes in knowledge. The spirit that is excited may require to be, and must be, guided, but *Africa may be evangelized*. Recent experiment has proved,—the advance of Islamism long ago proved,—that the swarming tribes of the centre desire instruction, are capable of it, will receive it from their countrymen;² and the channel is now opened for the repayment of that vast debt of justice and charity which is due from Christian Europe to oppressed Africa.³ Or observe, again, the great Mahometan

¹ Trew's Letter to the Bishop of London, pp. 45—48. Buxton's Slave Trade, Introd. p. 11.

² Schön's Journal of the Niger Expedition, pp. 223—231. Buxton's Slave Trade, p. 389.

³ Letter from the Bishop of London to Sir T. F. Buxton; quoted in the Friend of Africa, No. XXI.

nations. No impression has ever been made on the creed of the Prophet. It may be that, like dispersed Israel, its followers have hitherto been reserved to bear some part in the eventual furtherance of the Gospel,¹ which has not yet been accomplished. But the power on which it rests is temporal; it has trusted to the sword, and by the sword it will perish. The Moslems of the East fix their gaze, as if under the power of a spell, on the Turkish dynasty as the centre of their hopes;² they look there for a restoration of the Caliphate, and with it of their former glory. But they fix it on a power which is tottering, which is preserved only through the conflicting jealousies of European states; the key-stone of the arch is ready to fall, and with its fall the whole structure must be shaken into ruins. Or, again, look at the condition of that vast empire which the providence of God has entrusted to our custody. The conversion of the Hindoos was long thought impracticable; it was opposed as impolitic.

¹ See Forster's *Mahometanism Unveiled*, vol. ii. pp. 371, 372. Bishop Heber gives an interesting account of a Hindoo led by education to forsake idolatry, to become Mahometan, and then (from finding no satisfaction in his new creed,) embracing Christianity. *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 11.

² This feeling of the Indian Moslems in regard to Constantinople, was expressed by many of them to A. P. Forbes, Esq. (on whose authority it is stated) who was connected with the courts of Madras. The occasion was a trial of a certain Moulavee, who was charged with preaching sedition, and trying to excite a "jihand," or holy war, against the infidel in the town of Chittore.

But the silent course of events has worked a different persuasion. Attentive observers have noted that, in their civilization, the countries of the East are stationary; that, though the cradle of science and the arts, they have never been able to rise above a certain point in the scale of improvement. Their strength, exhausted in a precocious growth, has failed, and is unable to put out another shoot. Their mythology, law, literature, all repose at the same stagnant level; and if any impulse towards a higher state of intellectual vigour be impressed from without, their system must be shaken to its base. For besides this exhausted aspect which Hindooism presents, later years and deeper research have tended altogether to dissipate the romance with which it was invested in the eyes of Europeans. Not only has the absurdity of its Vedantic doctrines been exposed, but its extravagant systems of astronomy, and history, on which unbelievers were wont to expatiate, reaching back into untold ages, when the world was millions of years younger than at present,—even its literature and sacred books have been stripped of their high pretensions to antiquity, and brought within the span of historical computation.¹ Their extent may now be surveyed, their foundation measured, and the power required to displace them calculated. Even already no indistinct signs are given that

¹ See Duff's *India and Indian Missions*, p. 24.

the faith of the Hindoo is not proof against the power of European knowledge.¹ Knit and bound together, and equally constituting parts of the same unchangeable faith, his religion and his science must fall together. There is no alternative between adherence to the whole mass of error and total abandonment of it. And some minds have already broken from it, and are wandering in the twilight of their reason, struggling with infidelity, or constructing a heartless philosophic creed of simple Deism.² These are not effects at which we can rejoice; but they are indications of that process which must continue; they suggest the solemn question, What shall be substituted in the place of that which is discarded? What shall be the character of that revolution which in the end will affect the whole East? For India has already been the source of all Oriental civilization and learning; from hence issued the religious faith which spread itself through Thibet, China, and the adjacent isles;

¹ Native Female Education, by K. M. Banerjea, p. 125. Charge by Bishop Middleton, Sermons, p. 233.

² Tracts, by Ram Mohun Roy. In reference to these, Bishop Middleton writes: "Who would have believed, that any would have been found among them (the natives) thus early to *provoke* religious discussions, and openly to impugn the fundamental doctrines of Christianity? To cavil at its mysteries, to deny the atonement, and to attempt to reduce the stupendous scheme of Revelation to some, not all, of the divine sayings which it ascribes to Christ; teaching that these are sufficient unto salvation; and all this with an air of research and learning borrowed from our biblical criticism?" Charge to the Clergy of Calcutta, Sermons, p. 231.

in the eyes of nations its soil is the sacred home of truth; and once again it may rise in its regeneration to be the centre from which the streams of a holier influence shall flow throughout the furthest extremities of that vast continent.

III. There is a progressive movement, then, among the pagan nations. And that a wonderful conjuncture is thereby presented for the advance of the Church of Christ, will be made more apparent if we reflect on the manifold apparatus that exists, even in our own hands, for securing and directing it. For it is clear that aggression on the heathen nations is being vigorously made by Europe and her colonies. It is the aggression of a high and restless, upon an inferior and inert, civilization. It is the aggression of power upon weakness, of truth upon error. As surely as the tide of conquest once rolled from the East to the West, so surely is it flowing back (may it be more peaceably !) upon the birth-place of the human race. Daily is the influence of Christendom increasing. Even in point of numbers the disproportion between the Christian and Pagan population of the world is daily lessening. Reflect only on the gigantic power which is put forth by this our country. It has already peopled one-half of the American continent. Austral-Asia seems wonderfully destined to grow up under its influence to be a central source of improvement to the barbarism of the South. There is scarcely a heathen people with whom we are not brought into contact.

We carry the conveniences of life into the hut of the remotest savage. And our land is the resort of strangers. They flock from under every sun to learn our arts, and search out the source of our earthly greatness; and we might truly tell them that all these blessings have flowed from the influence of Christian truth. The language of England is spreading itself with a rapidity far exceeding any other. It is the tongue of half of the Western hemisphere. It is become the instrument of education in India. Our modes of thought, our principles, our literature, our history, are thus carried into other lands; they cannot perish there; rather, are they not pioneering a track along which the Gospel may advance, when those are found who are willing to proclaim it? We cannot reflect upon these elements of power, and not see in them the means provided for a fresh advance of the Church of Christ,—means which would scarcely have been equalled in the first ages of the promulgation of the Gospel, if, instead of the few fishermen of Galilee, the learned and powerful of Greece and Italy had been its propagators, and, instead of Jerusalem, imperial Rome had been the centre of its diffusion.

But though these secondary means must be deemed powerless in themselves, yet tokens are they, and signs of His will towards the accomplishment of which all things surely tend. We may note that, in those onward movements which have

marked particular periods in the history of the Church of God, the lines of His providence have ever run concurrently with those of His grace ; and that a combination of subordinate agencies have betokened “ the fulness of the time.” Was it not thus at the first coming of the Lord of Life ? The general peace ; the intercourse between nations along the highways of military conveyance ; extended colonization ; the application of the papyrus to the purposes of writing ; the circulation of the Septuagint ; a common language of communication ; all conspired to aid the promulgation of the kingdom of heaven. So was it at the subsequent religious crisis of the Reformation. The settling down of the nations into order ; increased skill in navigation, by means of the mariner’s compass ; fresh commercial enterprize ; emigration to a new world ; the invention of printing ; the translation of the Sacred Scriptures ; the use of Latin as the channel of thought ; these combined to urge onward that fresh outbreak of revived Christianity which agitated the whole of Europe. And can we close our eyes against the same concurrence of means now concentrating their force into one mighty effort ;—the application of a new power to navigation ; the rapid transit to every spot in the globe ; the founding of new settlements, and of future kingdoms ; the invention of arts, and discovery of new sciences ; the circulation of the word of God ; the ubiquity of the English language from Quebec to Canton, from

New Zealand to the Himalayas; and lastly, the universal peace, so merciful and unexpected, which may seem to be hushing the world into stillness, and to resemble the silence that was “in heaven for about the space of half an hour” at the opening of the seventh seal? Shall we discern nothing in these conjunctures but the chance on-drivings of a restless world, aimless and uncontrolled? Or, as it watches the feverish strivings and agitations of men, can the eye of faith discern no Hand weaving out therefrom the web of the world’s destinies, and tracing upon it the legible characters of God’s eternal decrees?

And God does not bestow His gifts for nought. These leadings of His providence, these opportunities, powers, resources, this peculiar and singular contact into which we are brought with the heathen, what do they indicate, but that He seems to have designed our Church for the special office and labours of an Apostle? Nay, in past history this impress seems to have been upon it. Mysteriously planted by we know not whom; assaulted, beyond all other Churches, by disasters in its growth; its light twice rekindled when well-nigh quenched by foreign and invading paganism; the Church of this land appears to have been reserved for this end, that it should be a missionary Church. On each occasion this was the fruit of its preservation. It was overrun by Saxons, and straightway on its recovery apostolic men went forth to convert the

Tentonic tribes. It was devastated by northern pirates, its sanctuaries destroyed and monasteries pillaged; on its rescue, the conversion of Norway was presented by English missionaries as a thank-offering to God. Count over the array of names with which the earlier lists of its saints stand emblazoned, and say if this be not its great and grand characteristic.¹ And why, at the later period of its recovery, why has it been so blessed above all reformed Christendom in the preservation of its apostolic form, but that it might be fully equipped for fulfilling this its peculiar destiny?—And therefore, we may justly fear that, in neglecting this duty, we may be contravening God's ordained purpose, and losing our special crown. There are not wanting those who will bid us look at home, will point to our own heathen population, to the festering mass of evil that is eating into the heart of our social condition. And we must confess the evil; yet not the more on this account may we dare omit that still pressing obligation of setting up the light of Christianity in our colonies, and causing it to shine upon the surrounding heathen; otherwise, founded upon no regard to God's will, those colonies will turn against us, and become, as former ones have become, our scourges.

We must ponder on the lesson which we may read in Portugal's history; we must call to mind the prophetic warning which was uttered to its

¹ Appendix, No. XLVII.

monarch by his bold and religious counsellor, who reminded him that, in giving to his kingdom the territories of the heathen in the East and West, in enriching it with the wealth of Mexico and Brazils, God had set it on its trial, to see whether it would employ these gifts in His service, and pour back upon the plundered nations the true riches;—and that, if it failed, God would lay it low, for He “setteth up and putteth down.”¹—And its kingdom has been taken away and given to another. We stand in its place. And we need no more stirring voice than this to read to us our own warning, and, it may be, to foretel our doom. “Behold,” it seems to speak, “the goodness and the severity of God: on them which fell severity; but toward thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness; otherwise thou also shalt be cut off.”² God’s work will be done. If we undertake it not willingly, He will force it on us; He will turn upon us our own evils, and scatter us abroad; and so witness we must, this mighty nation, to Christ, either by our obedience, or by our punishment.

And therefore should the Church cease not to raise its voice, till its teaching is throughout imbued by the lesson, and entreat, and warn, till this kingdom and people learn, that, not by its wealth, or commerce, or colonies, but by the execution of God’s will, it can alone be preserved. The methods by which this His will towards the heathen may

¹ Appendix, No. XLVIII.

² Rom. xi. 22.

be, for they have been, executed, I have endeavoured to trace. We have Christ's promise, we have the due organization, we have the Living Body, we have truth, and past experience. What more do we need,—what, but the pouring out of that new Spirit, which will set all in action, and give the Church a “mouth and wisdom which its adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist?” It is not merely a new-modelled machinery, nor multiplied funds that are needed; these have ere now been tried, and they have failed: they are unable to purchase holiness and zeal, and to secure the reward which is reserved for these alone. It is another weapon that is required for this warfare—the Spirit of God quickening the hearts of all His people. Thus alone can it be carried on. For it is no easy work to plant a Church. It has ever been effected in pain and sorrow; and it was an act that bore with it a solemn meaning, when Christians used to bear some martyr's remains, and place them deep under the foundation of the building they were about to raise, to show that its permanency must be based on such high deeds of suffering. The easy methods which have hitherto been pursued have wrought no adequate result. We see the fruit of them in the discouragement and disappointment which seems to blight the incipient efforts which are made at home, in the strife and complaint to which they tend, and the feebly-sustained existence in which they issue. We cannot, indeed, hope to rise all at

once to the full accomplishment of the labour that lies before us : the neglect of past years needs to be amended ; its punishment needs to be borne ; the new seed must be cast in sorrow and repentance, that after-generations may reap the fruit. But with the first awakening of such a reviving spirit, the pressing duty, and the real dignity, of evangelizing the heathen, will be felt in all their constraining force.—Men endowed with the power, will present themselves for so noble a service. It will be undertaken, as it was of old, in poverty, and in self-dedication to God. It will be esteemed a cutting reproach, that for gain, for honour, for a profession,—every profession but that of Christ's service,—men will give, and sacrifice themselves, their talents, their youth, their home ; that parents will part with their children, and gladly send them to earth's utmost limits to gather those earthly benefits which perish in the using ; but grudge them, and count them thrown away if devoted to purposes which will exist when earth itself has perished, and will make their memories blessed for evermore. Men (and there are many such whom I am now addressing) uncalled to any special work in Christ's vineyard, will reckon among the services by which they may consecrate their lives to the work of God, (and they must be doing His work if they are to rise above a base and selfish mediocrity,) this one, of bearing the name of Christ to a perishing world. They will consider that not merely second-

rate powers and gifts are required for it;¹ that it is not an inglorious service; but that in it the first gifts and rarest endowments of mind and body find their fitting exercise, while men and angels are looking on; that in it the flower of Christ's army have striven; saints have been made perfect, talents have put out their noblest energies; genius has wrought its greatest triumphs; the Church has been most edified, Christ has been most glorified, and brightest crowns have been won. And those crowns are not yet expended; they are stored in heaven for those who will claim them; none has yet heard the numbering of the army of martyrs,—the roll is yet open, and in their ranks are places yet unfilled.

¹ On the qualifications of Missionaries, see Appendix, No. XLIX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

LECTURE I.—Page 12.

On the Condition of the Church in the Colonies in past years.

“THE total number of Clergy, both civil and military, did not, there is reason to believe, in 1814, exceed thirty-two; in the proportion of fifteen for Bengal, twelve for Madras, and five for Bombay. This number, small as it was, was subject to continual reduction, by illness, death, necessary absence, or return to England. Such, *e. g.* was the amount of these casualties at Bombay, on the arrival of Archdeacon Barnes in 1814, that he found at that presidency *only one* efficient Clergyman on the establishment.”

“Throughout the provinces subject to the government of Bombay, there was but *a single church.*”

“Not only the offices for marriage and burial, but that of Baptism also, *were continually ministered by lay persons*; generally, though not always, by the magistrate, or commanding officer of the station.”—Life of Bishop Middleton, vol. i. pp. 82, 83, 113.

At the same period, 1814, (it is stated in a table published in a work called Propaganda,) the number of missionaries and *schoolmasters* in Canada (whose area equals France and England in extent), was twelve. In New Brunswick (equal to Scotland), twenty-one. About half of these, probably, were schoolmasters.

In New South Wales, at the same date, the number of Clergy was five, the population being about 14,000.—State of Religion in New South Wales, by Mr. Justice Burton, p. 9.

Of the feeling that was entertained by politicians towards the heathen, and on the duty of attempting their conversion, many instances might be adduced. In 1793, in the House of Commons, a member (Mr. Campbell) “reprobated the idea of converting the natives” of India. (Brown’s History of Missions, vol. i. p. 204.) “The allowance of missionaries,” so it was urged, “in that country, for the express purpose of propagating the Gospel among the people, was a measure which ought to be sternly resisted, as likely to bring Christianity and idolatry into direct conflict, imminently dangerous to the peace and safety of India.”—(Le Bas’ Life of Middleton, vol. i. p. 44.) A further instance of the state of feeling in regard to missions, and the duty and authority of the Church to advance them, is strikingly exhibited in the following extracts from Major Waring’s answer to Dr. Buchanan’s Researches :—“I do not believe that there is an adversary to Christian missions in England, *though many may argue, with the late Sir William Jones, that missionaries of no church or sect will succeed in India.*” And yet of the really adverse feelings existing towards them, he immediately gives proof in detailing two instances of missionaries being prohibited, by the civil authority, from preaching and distributing books in Calcutta and Dacca. Pp. 48, 49. “No man of prudence or common sense,” he adds, “will censure the Bishops of Llandaff and St. David’s, for not delivering their sentiments in Parliament, knowing, as they did, that *both the king’s ministers, and a great majority in each house, were decidedly hostile to the institution of a system of proselytism in India.*” P. 58. In accordance with these sentiments it is urged,—“that the legislature alone is competent to form an union between the Church of England and any other Christian Church.” “The Church cannot herself be an instrument in giving light to the world ; parliament may, if it please, make her the instrument.” Pp. 52, 55.

A similar instance of the melancholy misapprehension that existed, even among the Clergy in the colonies, as to the authority of the Bishop and the real character of the Church, is to be found in Le Bas’ Life of Middleton, vol. ii. p. 119 ; where it is mentioned that a Chaplain, “having obtained leave of absence from his own station, and being on a visit at

another, where there was a licensed Chaplain, obtained there, from the commanding officer, a sort of licence to officiate at a wedding, although the licensed Chaplain remonstrated against the invasion of his rights."

These extracts are made merely as indicating a tone of feeling which has now happily passed away.

No. II.

LECTURE I.—Page 17.

On the Opinion of the earlier Fathers respecting the predicted Extension of the Gospel.

THE opinions commonly entertained respecting the universal spread of Christianity, whereby the whole world shall be evangelized before the end come, may be comprehended under these two heads: first, the expectation of the Millenarians, (derived from Rev. xx.) who look for a reign of peace and bliss on earth, under the personal government of Christ;—and secondly, the expectation that the Gospel will gradually extend itself, by the operation of already existing influences, until (in some sense) "the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

There is, indeed, a third opinion, which, however, is scarcely definite or consistent enough to be accurately described, but which, while it asserts the belief of the whole world becoming the inheritance of the Lord, before "the end of all things," rejects, on the one hand, the notion of the millenarian, that this will be effected by a miraculous manifestation of our Lord, and rejects, on the other hand also, the idea that this "happy reign of piety on the earth will be attained by the peaceful and uninterrupted progress of the means employed, and by these alone." This intermediate opinion is set forth by Dr. Harris, and probably represents the tenets of a large portion of Protestant dissenters. See "The Great Commission," pp. 117—121.

1. In regard to the former of the above-named opinions,

(that of a Millennium) much need not be said ; because, first, any such opinion (viewed as a motive for missionary exertion) would seem to supersede the necessity of any exertion at all,—since it looks for the fulfilment of its expectations to miraculous interposition : next, because there is no *necessary* connexion between the portion of Scripture on which the doctrine of the Millennium mainly depends, (viz. Rev. xx.) and those which import the enlargement and final triumph of the kingdom of Christ, in the prophets : lastly, because the opinion does not at all prevail among divines of the Church of England. It is well known that the doctrine was generally held in the earlier days of Christianity, and down to the time of St. Jerome (A.D. 392). Papias (A.D. 116) is generally referred to, as the first who maintained the opinion, and who was (in part at least) followed by Justin Martyr, Melito, Bishop of Sardis (A.D. 170), Irenæus, Tertullian, and Lactantius. It was opposed, first by Origen ; and afterwards by Dionysius of Alexandria (A.D. 247), who summoned a council (A.D. 262), on occasion of a book being written on the subject by Nepos, Bishop of Egypt ; then by S. Jerome, and S. Augustine. The last writer enters fully into an interpretation of those passages of Scripture, on which the doctrine of a Millennium was founded, in his work, *De Civit. Dei*, lib. xx. cap. vi.—xi.

The doctrine slept from the close of the fourth, to the seventeenth century ; when it was again revived, and published in 1643, under the title of “The Personal Reign of Christ on Earth.” This treatise is examined and fully replied to by Bishop Hall, in his “Revelation Revealed.” The theory is likewise discussed and refuted at length by Ant. Waaleus, (Prof. of Theology at Leyden, and Director of a Missionary Seminary founded in 1612, by the Dutch East India Company,) in a dissertation “*De Chiliastis*.”

2. The second opinion is probably that which most largely prevails, and it is in reference chiefly to this that the arguments in the Lecture are advanced. It is remarkable how, in the current theology of later years, this notion of an universal diffusion of the Gospel, a conversion of the whole world, as the result of the means now in operation, is expected and expressed.

It is seldom that a missionary sermon is preached in which it is not at least implied. Dean Graves (on the Pentateuch, p. 434, 3d edit.) asserts it. It seems taken for granted in all the concluding remarks of Mr. Forster, in his “Mahometanism Unveiled,” pp. 369, 371. Mr. Davison, indeed, in his work on “Prophecy,” speaks more cautiously. After quoting the passages, “all nations shall flow unto it,” (Isa. ii. 2,) and, “the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea,” (Isa. xi. 9.) he says, “Such predictions as these, *if pressed to the letter*, open the prospect of an unlimited and universal spread of the Gospel.” P. 529.

That the earlier fathers did not conceive such passages of Scripture as these to declare an universal reign of the Gospel throughout the earth before the end of the world, whatever fulfilment they might have in the future glory of Christ, with His redeemed, is apparent from such authorities as the following.

St. Chrysostom (as quoted in p. 1,) considered the prophecy of the preaching of the Gospel in all the world to have been fulfilled, in an adequate sense, before the taking of Jerusalem. St. Jerome, in his commentary on Isa. xi., understands the whole of the chapter as having reference to the period of the first advent of our Lord ; opposing herein the opinion of the Jews, who referred it to the end of the world, tom. iv. 158—164, Vallarsii edit. St. Cyril of Alexandria, in his Commentary on Isaiah, (lib. ii. Orat. 1,) writes in the same way,—*ἐμπεπλησθαι τε φησὶ τὴν σύμπασαν τοῦ γινῶναι τὸν κύριον. οὕτω τε εἶναι πλήρη τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν εὐσεβείας, καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ ἡ πλατεΐά τε καὶ εὐρύχωρος θάλασσα μεστή τῶν ἰδίων ὑδάτων ἐστίν. ἴδοι δ' ἄν τις καὶ τοῦτο ἀληθές. ποῦ γὰρ ὅλως ἢ παρὰ τίσιν οὐκ ὀνομάζεται Χρίστος; ἢ ποῖον ἀνθρώπων γένος οὐκ ὑποπέπτωκεν; κάμψει γὰρ αὐτῷ πᾶν γόνυ, καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον.* In like manner St. Basil observes, in his Commentary on Isaiah, cap. ii. § 67,—*καὶ ἤξουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. Προϊὼν ὁ λόγος γυμνοτέραν ἐκφαίνει τὴν προφητείαν, τὴν συνδρομὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν τὴν ἐσομένην ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑποφαίνων. Ἡξουσι γὰρ κληθέντα διὰ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπὶ τὴν πίστιν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. κηρυχθήσεται γὰρ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ· καὶ, Εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ εὐαγγελικὸς φθόγγος τῶν ἀποστόλων.*

And as such passages as these were applied to the spread of

the Church that had been already witnessed, so the writers of these early ages seem not to have expected any universal acceptance of the Gospel before the end. St. Augustine wrote two letters to Hesychius on the signs of the approaching end, in which he enters upon the subject. He determines that the Gospel was to be preached, *for a witness*, in all lands, which had not, at that time, been completely done; that the accomplishment of this would be a sign of the coming end; yet that the result of this preaching throughout would be, not that all would believe, but some only, and that the rest would be unbelieving and opposed to the faithful.

For the two first statements I would refer to Epist. 197, § 4, and Epist. 199, cap. xii.; also, De Consens. Evangel. lib. ii. cap. lxxvii. and De Agon. Christian. cap. xxix. So St. Hilary says, “Usque ad finem perseverantibus salus reservata est; ac tum per omnes orbis partes, viris Apostolicis dispersis, Evangelii veritas predicabitur,” in Matt. xxv. 2. (xxiv. 13).—Origen, too, writes, “Si vult quis temerè dicere prædicatum esse jam evangelium regni in toto orbe in testimonium omnibus gentibus, consequentè dicere poterit et quod ait, ‘Tunc erit finis,’ jam finem venisse,” in Matt. Comment. sec. 39, tom. iii. edit. Bened.—St. Cyril of Jerusalem thought the preaching of the Gospel to the whole world so nearly complete, as to show that Christ was coming:—*ἔχεις καὶ τοῦτο τὸ σημεῖον. Καὶ κηρυχθήσεται τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, εἰς μαρτύριον πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι· καὶ τότε ἥξει τὸ τέλος. Καὶ σχεδὸν, ὡς ὀρώμεν, ὁ κόσμος ἅπας τῆς περὶ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας πεπλήρωται.* Catech. xv. 8, p. 227, Edit. Bened. See also, Theodoret, Interpret. 2 Thess. ii. 2.

And that no universal *acceptance* of the Gospel would be the result of this, is strongly stated by St. Augustine in these words: “In quibus ergo gentibus nondum est Ecclesia, *oportet ut sit; non ut omnes* qui ibi fuerint, credant, (omnes enim *gentes* promissæ sunt, non *omnes homines omnium gentium*; non enim omnium est fides;) credit itaque omnis gens in omnibus qui electi sunt antè constitutionem mundi, in cæteris non credit, et credentes odit,” Epist. 199, cap. xii. See also, De Unit. Eccles. § 34. To the same purpose St. Jerome says, “Signum Dominici adventûs est, Evangelium in toto orbe prædicari, *ut nullus sit excusabilis*,” in Matt. xxiv. 14. Origen likewise,

though asserting the universal preaching of the Gospel, yet, in answer to the objection of Celsus, that it was impossible for all men to agree in one faith, replies that this may be so in this life, but not in that to come :—*ταῦτα δ' ἔδοξέ μοι μετρίως, καὶ οὐ μετὰ τῆς ἀκριβοῦς διηγήσεως, παράθεσθαι, διὰ τὴν Κέλσου λέξιν οἰομένου τὸ συμφρονῆσαι τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν, καὶ Εὐρώπην, καὶ Λιβύην, Ἑλληνάς τε καὶ βαρβάρους οἰκοῦντας, ἀδύνατον εἶναι· καὶ πάχα ἀληθῶς ἀδύνατον μὲν τὸ τοιοῦτον τοῖς ἔτι ἐν σώματι, οὐ μὴν ἀδύνατον καὶ ἀπολυθεῖσιν αὐτοῦ.* Contr. Cels. viii. 73.

If this, then, be a true view of what we are to expect before the second coming of our Lord, the prospect of an universal reign of Christian truth and bliss, under the present dispensation of things, is unfounded ; and, without denying a partial fulfilment of them even now, the full realization of the scenes presented in the elder prophets must be looked for in another state. Whatever state that may be, I would observe only further, that any question respecting a millennium is apart from the point immediately under consideration, and properly rests on other passages of Scripture. And should it be thought that such an opinion as is here expressed respecting the spread of the Gospel necessarily contradicts the idea of a millennium, I would reply, that the fact of the day of judgment would seem to do so no less ; for we cannot conceive how such a millenary state as is conceived, could exist before that event without forestalling its sentence. This, then, is altogether a point apart from the course of His dealings which God has revealed, and it is one on which it will be wiser to express no opinion ; only, should a season of such a character be in store, no doubt it will be reconciled, though we may not be able to see how, with the other revelations of God respecting the laborious preaching and partial acceptance of the Gospel even unto the end.

No. III.

LECTURE II.—Page 44.

On the Revival of Zoroastrianism in Persia.

“By an edict of Artaxerxes (or Ardeschir) the exercise of every worship except that of Zoroaster was severely prohibited. The temples of the Parthians, and the statues of their deified monarchs, were thrown down with ignominy. The sword of Aristotle (such was the name given by the Orientals to the polytheism and philosophy of the Greeks) was easily broken ; the flames of persecution soon reached the more stubborn Jews and Christians ; nor did they spare the heretics of their own nation and religion.”—*Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp.* vol. i. p. 246, 2d ed.

Gibbon, in a note on this passage, refers to Sozomen, lib. ii. c. 1. (viii. ?) on the subject of this persecution. But the events and the sufferings of the Christians there related refer to a later period, and occurred under Sapor, son of Hormouz, in the middle of the fourth century. See Rufinus, p. 339. Sozomen speaks (ch. xiv.) of 16,000 Christians having been martyred under this prince. That Zoroastrianism was restored by violence in the first instance is most probable, and the spirit of persecution was continued, since Manes was put to death by Varranes, A.D. 277 ; but no account (as Mr. Milman observes in his note on Gibbon) remains of the earlier conflict. “The restoration of Zoroastrianism, as the established and influential religion of Persia, is perhaps the only instance of the vigorous revival of a Pagan religion.”—*Milman’s Hist. Christ.* vol. ii. p. 310.

It is remarkable that Sozomen (lib. ii. c. viii.) speaks of Christianity as having been introduced to Persia from Armenia. This is clearly incorrect, as it was not preached in the latter country before A.D. 312 ; when Tiridates was converted by Gregory the Illuminator ; a sketch of whose preaching is given at the end of St. Chrysostom’s works, vol. xii. p. 821 ; ed. Vell. The faith had existed and flourished in Persia before this period. The earlier history of Christianity in Persia is involved in much obscurity. Tradition (*Martyrol. Rom.* 28th

Oct. cited by Fabric. Lux. Evang. p. 633) assigns the first preaching of the Gospel in that country to Simon the Canaanite and Thaddeus. That it was conveyed thither soon after the day of Pentecost we might conclude from "Parthians and Medes and Elamites" having been among the number who witnessed the wonders of that day. In a Variorum note appended to the passage of Sozomen, the following words occur:—"Et quidem Bardesanes, sæculi secundi scriptor, apud Euseb. lib. vi. de Præpar. Evang. cap. 8 (10?) refert suo tempore Christianos apud Persas inveniri. Sed tamen vix compertum est, quis fuerit in hac amplissimâ regione Christianæ religionis status ante Constantini Mag. tempora, qui, in Epistolâ ad Saporem Regem Persarum apud Eusebium de Vitâ Const. lib. iv. cap. 8 (9?) Christianos ipsi commendat, 'quorum multitudine nobilissima quæque Persidis loca longè latèque esse decorata' asseverat."

No. IV.

LECTURE II.—Page 48.

On the Invasion of the Vandals and Saxons.

OF the state of the African Church an appalling account is given by Salvian, of Marseilles (A. D. 480), in his work *De Gubernatione Dei*, in which the following passage occurs:—"Nam sicut in sentinam profundæ navis colluviones omnium sordium, sic in mores eorum quasi omni mundo vitia fluxerunt. Nullam enim improbitatem scio, quæ illic non redundârit, cum utique etiam paganæ ac ferreæ gentes, etsi habeant specialiter mala propria, non sint tamen in his omni execratione dignæ. Gothorum gens perfida, sed pudica est: Alamannorum impudica, sed minus perfida: Franci mendaces, sed hospitales: Saxones crudelitate efferi, sed castitate mirandi. Omnes denique gentes habent sicut peculiaria mala, ita etiam quædam bona. In Afris penè omnibus nescio quid non malum. Si accusanda est inhumanitas, inhumani sunt. Si ebriositas, ebriosi sunt. Si falsitas, falsi sunt. Si dolus, fraudulentissimi.

Si cupiditas, cupidissimi. Si perfidia, perfidissimi. Impuritas eorum atque blasphemia his omnibus admiscenda non sunt : quia illis quæ supra diximus malis aliarum gentium vitia, his autem etiam sua ipsorum vicerunt." Pp. 261, 262.

In respect to the feelings of the barbarians themselves, he says, (p. 256,) " Ipsi denique fatebantur non suum esse quod facerent, *agi enim se divino jussu, ac perurgeri*. Ex quo intelligi potest quanta sint mala nostra, ad quos vastandos atque cruciandos ire barbari compelluntur inviti." The same sentiment is put into the mouth of a Persian by Herodotus, in reference to the invasion of Xerxes ; *ταῦτα δὲ Περσέων συχνοὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπόμεθα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεδέμενοι*, κ. τ. λ. lib. ix. c. 16.

The state of the English Church is dwelt on, in the same tone, by Bede, who speaks of the ravages of the Saxons in the sixth century as being a just judgment of God : " Accensus manibus paganorum ignis justus de sceleribus populi Dei ultiones expetiit."—(Eecl. Hist. Gent. Angl. lib. i. c. 15.) In the same way Gildas, in his "liber querulus," as it is called, "de excidio Britanniae," charges every amount of vice on the Britons, and adds that "God to purify, as it were, His family, had inflicted on it the ravages of the Saxons."—Bibl. Max. tom. viii. p. 710.

No. V.

LECTURE II.—Page 62.

On the mutual Interdependence of Christianity and Civilization.

THE difficulty that has beset this subject, and the difference of opinion that has been expressed upon it, have arisen very much from the meaning that has been attached, by different minds, to the word "civilization," which will need to be settled before any agreement of opinion can be come to upon it. It may be thought, perhaps, that this has been accomplished by M. Guizot, in his first lecture on "The history of civilization in Europe ;" but, in reality, he only describes it as "the progress or developement of a people in their social life," and "the

developement of individual life, of the human mind and faculties" (pp. 13, 15, Engl. transl.); and concludes that France exhibits, and is the centre of it. As regards the point in question, however, this description does not at all meet the difficulty, in which we are met by conflicting opinions and seemingly conflicting facts.

E. g. Mr. Forster, in his *Mahometanism Unveiled*, strongly maintains that civilization must precede, or at least go hand in hand with the introduction of Christianity; and that "a high state of national culture and civilization would seem essential, in order to Christianity striking root, and becoming *permanently* established among any people." He instances the fact, that the limits of permanent Christianity have been hitherto nearly commensurate with the boundaries of Greek and Roman civilization, and accounts for the conversion of the barbarian hordes in Europe by the fact of their having changed their abode and habits, and of its having been effected finally by force. Vol. ii. pp. 365—367.

With this opinion the late Mr. Rose, whose judgment must command the deepest respect, coincides; and his note upon the subject, in the Appendix to his "Christianity always Progressive," (pp. 175—182,) contains quotations from Mr. Forster, and Bishop Law. In an examination which he subjoins, of the *Polynesian Researches*, he justly observes, that regular instruction had been going on among the natives of Tahiti and the other islands for years before the conversions took place, which Mr. Ellis seems to think were the work of the moment at which they happened; and he discovers in this instruction "exactly such preparation as might be expected, in due time, under God's blessing, to produce the desired effect."

On the other hand,—with one voice, the missionaries and others who were examined before the House of Commons, expressed their conviction that it is "neither necessary nor advantageous for civilization to precede Christianity;" (Mr. Ellis's *Evidence*, p. 174; see also, pp. 187, 250),—that in Christianizing a country, Christianity must precede the attempt to civilize; "You cannot get a barbarous people to attend to any civilizing process, or aspire to any European habit, till

you give them Christian principle.”—(Williams’s Evidence, p. 294.) They instance the introduction of Christianity among the North Americans by the labours of Elliott, Brainerd, and others,—and into Greenland by the Moravians, “where they had not been preceded by any civilizing process, and where the most decided results followed.” [This statement, however, is scarcely true in fact. Both Elliott and Brainerd did civilize while they tried to convert. See Brown’s Missions, pp. 37, 43, 134. And in Greenland, fifteen years of preparatory instruction preceded the ingathering of any fruit by the Moravians.]

Such are the opposite opinions. And it must be owned, too, that there are facts which seem to favour both views. *E. g.* It is quite true that the civilized portion of Europe received the Gospel earlier and more easily than those countries occupied by the barbaric hordes. Constantine inured such of the tribes as were under his sway to the habits of civilized life, *in order to their being christianized*. In many parts of Europe, such as Sweden and Norway, a century of missionary labour passed before any impression was made on the hardy and savage natives. So that civilization would seem necessary for the reception of Christianity.—On the other hand, later experience has certainly shown that it is far more difficult to affect the civilized nations of the East, India, and China, than the uncivilized natives of the Southern isles, or on the continent of America; so that, on this representation, a more advanced stage of civilization would seem disadvantageous to the reception of Christianity.

These seemingly conflicting facts, and the conclusions drawn from them, might surely be reconciled by observing, that a different idea is attached to civilization when either the one class of cases or the other is considered.¹ There is a moral, as

¹ It is quite strange to note the paradoxical statements into which the adherents of the civilization or non-civilization system have been drawn, by having one idea of civilization before their mind. *E. g.* Bishop Law (Theory of Religion, p. 33,) observes that “The improvement of the natural faculties, and the cultivation and refinement of natural genius, are necessary to the reception of Christianity.” (It occurs at once upon this to suggest, that we ought then to find the Chinese more prepared than other nations to embrace Christianity; whereas, notwithstanding their advancement, they do offer a

well as an intellectual or secular, civilization. Where there is merely the latter, it will by no means aid the work of conversion; on the contrary, it may coexist, as in China and India, with so much either moral darkness, or adherence to a monstrous superstition, as to offer a complete barrier to an entering in of the Faith. And we may find the same thing illustrated among ourselves. On the other hand, *some* civilization must precede the conversion of savages; but then it is a *moral* civilization, a reclaiming from wandering habits, and brutalizing practices. They must be *humanized*, and this is a moral civilization. And thus it has been that savages, living in a state of dissocialized barbarism, have been at first most difficult to convert; and they *have been* converted, as in Paraguay, North America, Greenland, and South Africa, by first gathering them into settlements, and introducing among them civilized habits. In reply then to any general question as to the necessity of civilization preceding the reception of Christianity, it may be said, that, as far as some degree of *moral advancement* is meant by the word, it is necessary; as far as mere skill in arts, or intellectual acuteness are meant, these not only do not of themselves, apart from concurrent moral improvement, render conversion more easy, but may be so allied to moral unfitness, as to be an actual hindrance to it. Should it be said that, admitting the former statement, yet

peculiar resistance to the Gospel. In anticipation, as it were, of this, the author proceeds at once,) "The extreme absurdities, and childish ignorance of the Chinese in many things, testify that *this is not their case*, notwithstanding the fine things which have been said of them, and *therefore* accounts for their not receiving the Gospel." Surely it is nothing better than a paradox to assert, that the Gospel is not received by the Chinese because they are not yet civilized enough.—On the other hand, Mr. Beecham, in maintaining that "Christianity must *precede* civilization," that "Christianity is the parent of civilization," and "that true civilization cannot be produced without it," seems met by the possible suggestion that surely Greece and Rome possessed some degree of true civilization; but no,—he replies, I cannot conclude that the civilization of the classic heathen was anything better than a *splendid barbarism*."—Evidence on Aborig. pp. 122, 123. A theory is indeed a hard taskmaster when it drives one to such a conclusion, in spite of the sublime writings of antiquity, and the high characters which shine in its history.

Christianity is the *only* means of securing this moral advancement, and therefore it must be the first point of the wedge that enters,—this I should deny, and maintain that every religion, in as far as it has any remnant of truth in it, (and all have some lying at the bottom,) may improve and prepare the way for the Gospel, and does improve in proportion as the light is followed and obeyed. But this is another question, and not directly connected with the point here treated of. I would observe only further, that in *practice* both parties approximate much more nearly on this point, and that it is chiefly in their theory, and in the after-interpretation of facts, that they differ.

No. VI.

LECTURE II.—Page 65.

Extract from Bishop Middleton's Charge to the Clergy of Calcutta and Madras, in 1819.

THE following passage, in which Bishop Middleton proceeds to illustrate what has been quoted, is too valuable not to be added ; and I transcribe it the more readily, as the volume in which it occurs is now scarce.

“ The history of Montanism, of Donatism, and even of Arianism, though the latter two did not appear till the beginning of the fourth century, will furnish more or less an illustration of these remarks : and probably it may be true that controversies upon any point had then less hold upon ordinary minds, when as yet men were not led by the enjoyment of political freedom to confound the maintenance of theological opinions with the exercise of civil rights. But what would have been the case, if in any of the provinces in which a ministry was already exercised by persons duly commissioned and ordained, and the Catholic doctrines were taught, what would have been the consequence if teachers had appeared, impugning the form of Church Government till then universally received, and promulgating new opinions as to the

sacrament by which men are admitted to the Christian covenant? Though we cannot estimate amidst varying circumstances the force of the resistance which such obstacles might have opposed to the progress of the Gospel, we may venture to affirm that more pernicious questions could not have been agitated in a heathen land : under what form of Church government Christian societies shall live ; what is the authority of their teachers, and whence derived ; and whether infants can, or cannot, be brought to Christ, are practical controversies, if any are practical, and they necessarily produce a diversity and a collision, which the heathen (I speak it of my own knowledge) do not fail to observe. It is indeed, in this point of view, and not merely for the sake of instituting a comparison between primitive and modern missions, that I have adverted to the subject ; and on this head, if we have any interest in Christian proceedings connected with this country, there is somewhat to regret.”—Sermons, pp. 220, 221.

No. VII.

LECTURE II.—Page 65.

The effect of Disunion in hindering the Gospel.

THIS did not escape the sagacity of Voltaire, who, in his *Essai sur les Mœurs*, (tom. i. cap. iv.) has these words : “ Le plus grand obstacle à nos succès religieux dans l’Inde, c’est la différence des opinions qui divisient nos missionnaires,” &c.

The following more recent testimonies, from all quarters, confirm the same observation, which is, day by day, pressed more forcibly on the attention of all interested in the success of missions. Bishop Middleton, in a letter to Mr. Courtenay, dated April 25th, 1817, observes, “ While writing this letter, I have heard from a Brahmin at Benares, who is quite disgusted with idolatry, and has, with several others, made some progress in the knowledge of Christianity. But he tells me that they have had among them not only Protestants (meaning the Church of England), but Roman Catholics, and recently Baptists, and that their ways are quite different ;

'*by which,*' he says, in his imperfect English, '*the poor Hindoos is in a great confusion !*'"—Life by Le Bas, vol. i. p. 410.

In the famous speech of a North American Indian, of the Seneca tribe, to a missionary in 1805, the following remonstrance occurs :—"Brother, you say there is but one way to worship the Great Spirit. If there is but one religion, why do you white people differ so much about it? why not all agree, *as you can all read the book ?*"—Howitt's Christianity and Colonization, p. 399.

A Roman Catholic missionary thus writes in the *Annales de la Foi*, vol. iii. p. 63, note :—"Dans les derniers années que j'ai passées dans l'Inde, toutes les fois que j'ai enterpris de parler à des Indiens d'embrasser le Christianisme, j'ai presque toujours reçu cette réponse . . . 'Vous, missionnaires Catholiques, vous nous dites que la vérité est de votre côté, et que vos antagonistes, les missionnaires protestans, sont dans l'erreur : ces derniers, venus long-temps après vous, nous disent le contraire . . . Vous, Catholiques, vous nous tirez d'un côté ; vous, protestans, vous nous tirez de l'autre. Dans cette position, quel parti voulez-vous que nous prenions, nous, pauvres ignorans, qui ne connaissons rien, ou presque rien, du sujet de vos disputes ? Commencez donc par vous accorder entre vous, et vous viendrez ensuite nous prêcher vos dogmes.'"

"One great cause," (writes Rev. Krishna Mohana Banerjea.) "which has occasioned the short-comings alluded to, and proved such a drawback upon educational and other agencies of the Missionary Societies, is the want of union, and consequently of strength in the Church."—On Female Education in India, p. 138.

And, lastly, in the introduction to his recent Charge, the Bishop of Madras has the following pithy remark :—

"To those amongst us, if such there be, who think agitation better adapted than quietness, peace, and love, to promote the Gospel in the East, I would commend for their most serious consideration a remark made lately to one of our missionary clergy by a shrewd Mahometan, to whom he was speaking of the claims of Christianity as 'worthy of all men to be received;' 'First settle among yourselves what is the truth,

and who of you *has* the truth, and then perhaps we will listen to you as its ministers.'” P. 12.

The following observations on the conduct of missions, since they touch especially upon the point here illustrated, are extracted from the private correspondence of a gentleman in India, who has considerable opportunities of watching the progress of our missions, and are worthy of attentive consideration.

“As to the method of conducting missionary operations, there should be several well-trained men always in and out among the people of each district. These men should live together at the head-quarters of the mission, but go and live out in the villages from time to time, and by turns. The present class of native readers should be utterly abolished; the services of the Church should not be performed (as is now done) by unordained catechists, and even by these readers; there should be some one with chief authority in each mission; and some one over all the missions, who shall repeatedly visit them and confer with the men employed in them. But after all, as long as there are *two* Church societies missionarizing with different rules, on different plans, giving different salaries, &c. &c. . . . one may attempt what one may in the way suggested, and it will come to nothing, or very little. Bishop Middleton mentions an anecdote in which a poor Hindoo states himself to be in great confusion owing to the conflicting teaching of the Church, the Roman Catholics and the Anabaptists. Now, whilst some may really feel this perplexity, others, who wish for an excuse, turn it to account. The father of a lad whom I saved some time since from pursuit, and put beyond the reach of his persecutors, pleaded very earnestly with me for his restoration. Why should not his son continue a Hindoo, and keep his father's faith? why should the missionaries try to turn people from Hindooism, and not leave them as free in that faith as the Roman Catholics in theirs? The Roman Catholics thought one thing and we thought another (he said), and why should not he himself think a third? This is how the thing presents itself to a Hindoo mind. By the way, I shall never forget the scene I had with that man, though it was short; his deep distress at his son's becoming a Christian, and how he urged the duty of children to obey their parents. . . . I understand he never now

alludes to his son, looking on him as *dead* (as he once said) *since his baptism*;—a remarkable involuntary comment on what the Apostle says to the baptized.

“To return; the escape from the present state of things never can be entire. Dissent, we know, will continue; and its manifestation of itself among the heathen in antagonism to the Church, we may well suppose to be part of their probation. This will do, after a sort, to explain its permission, but not, of course, to excuse it, or warrant any sanction of it on the part of Church people. I question whether any but those who have come into contact with it as missionaries can realize its evil in a missionary form to the Heathen. *A priori*, anything seems a gain compared with heathenism; and I am not prepared to deny this, excepting always atheism, if there be such a thing. What is the common theory? it is this; that though one forbid not the Dissenters beforehand, it is on the supposition that where they have made converts, these, on the coming of an apostolical ministry, will yield to it, and embrace it as the more perfect way. Yet this is a theory which leaves out of sight the fact that the teachers in this case have acted not only independently of the Church, and of necessity, but knowingly and designedly against the Church, the recognition of which by their followers is as certainly followed by excommunication as a relapse into idolatrous practices.

“To take up another point. The missionaries should be men of fewer wants than those one now has; . . . the ability ‘to endure hardness’ in a practical way, unthought of now-a-days, seems to me indispensable for those who will throw their whole energies into this work. Missionaries have told me that the idea which the natives have of them is that they merely work for their pay, and they have met with the notion that the more converts a man has, the better he is off, or something like it. This, of course, has its root in the inconceivable sordidness of the Hindoo character, which would not yield perhaps to the evidence of one who should carry his devotion to such a pitch as to seem to be beside himself for the Gospel’s sake. Until, however, some have gone thus far like Xavier, one perhaps is not warranted to say that zeal has had its fair trial.”

No. VIII.

LECTURE III.—Page 70.

On the Theory of Missions.

IN the text I have endeavoured to give a fair representation of the theory maintained by non-conformist Protestants; which is more fully put forth in Dr. Harris's "Great Commission," than in any other writing which I have seen. It occupies above 160 pages, and seems to be summed up in the following propositions: "that Christ, as the Head of the Church on earth, authoritatively requires that each individual Christian surrender himself, and live supremely for the conversion of others; that these unite in particular societies for the conversion of greater numbers still; that all these societies, in every land, combine in sympathy and purpose for the salvation of the entire race," pp. 110, 111. This theory, it is argued, "was prefigured by former dispensations; it was substantially realized in the person of Christ; it is called for by the office and energy of the Holy Spirit; our Lord prescribed it; his primitive Churches either practically exemplified it, or were authoritatively exhorted to do so." P. 94.

The first proposition of the former quotation is of course fully admitted. As regards the two following, the question only is, whether Christ has not *ordained a Society* for this very end. This is the point at issue, and therefore the reply to these propositions and to the affirmations in the latter quotation, will be found in the Lecture. I would only remark further, that justice is not done to the points which are attempted to be proved in the work above quoted, in consequence of the loose declamatory style in which it is written, and which has all the character of haranguing, rather than of calmly discussing a serious subject.

The opposite theory is that of the Romanists, who represent the authority to send missionaries and to convert the heathen, as centering in the Pope. It is enunciated by Thomas à Jesu, in his work, *De Procuranda Salute omnium Gentium*, lib. ii. cap. 1, in the following proposition: "Ad Romanum Ponti-

ficem tanquam ad summum Ecclesiæ Pastorem, Petrique in Apostolatu successorem, pertinere, prædicatores pro fide propaganda mittere in universum orbem.”¹ The passages by which this proposition is maintained, are those commonly adduced from Holy Scripture, and from the Fathers, in support of the tenet of the supremacy of St. Peter, and of the Pope as his successor. Other chapters follow, asserting *the fact* that the Gospel was propagated through all the world, in Europe, Asia, the East and West Indies by the Pope.

Now, as regards the latter point, which, as a matter of authoritative practice in the early Church, is very important, this being a question of fact, is of course subject to proof. In refutation, therefore, of the assertion, instances of the distinct authority of separate Bishops in converting the heathen within reach of their operations, as the practice of the early Church, will be given in Appendix, No. XII.—In addition, however, it is satisfactory to quote Roman Catholic authority, which confirms the position, that, for the first six centuries, and until the supremacy of the Pope was established, the work of converting the heathen was not confined to the Bishop of Rome, either in point of fact, or of right and authority,—but belonged to all Bishops, and specially to those bordering upon districts of heathenism. Thus Fleury remarks, “Ceux qui entreprenoient d’y travailler (en Allemagne) prenoient toujours leur mission du Pape ; au lieu que, *en premiers temps, chaque Evêque se croyoit en droit de prêcher aux Infidèles de son voisinage.*” Discours III. de Fleury, sect. xxiv. vol. xiii. Hist. Eccles. 1713, 4to, p. 31.

Thomassin also, in his elaborate work, “Vetus et Nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina,” makes just the same admission. The subject is treated in Part I. lib. i. cap. liv. and lv. p. 412, *et seq.* 4to, edit. 1786, Latin. The substance of these chapters has been already translated and quoted by Dr. Pusey, in the Appendix to his Sermon entitled, “The Church the Converter of the Heathen,” in which the following passages will be found :—

¹ See also a chapter upon the same subject in the Tractatus de Missionibus, by Rovenius, p. 16, in which, however, nothing different from what is urged by Thomas à Jesu is adduced.

“ We cannot doubt that the Apostles, and the Bishops of the apostolic times, who, for the most part, confined themselves to the chief cities of the empire, and the metropolis of each province, both themselves founded new Bishoprics (as so many citadels of the Christian empire) in those cities, where a new Church was gathered, and left the like power to their successors. For all being Apostles, and leaving a more abundant portion of apostolic power (as has been said) to those who should be Bishops of the Metropolis, they transmitted to them the same power of founding new Churches, and new Bishoprics.

“ With regard to new colonies of Christians, and new Bishoprics, the councils of Africa had decreed, that he should be Bishop of each Church and people who gained the same to the Catholic unity, and retained it undisturbed for three years. They had permitted also any Bishops to gain and unite to their own Church places which were neglected by their own Bishops, after six months’ warning. Whence you will readily understand, that those Bishops who were on the confines of the Church and the heathen, had far more right to enlarge their own Dioceses and Metropolises by subduing the barbarians to themselves and to Christ. So Pope Gregory protested to Theodoric and Theodebert, kings of the Franks, that he had only sent missionaries and Bishops to England, because the Gallician Bishops neglected this rich and neighbouring harvest. ‘ It reached us that the English nation, through the mercy of God, long to be converted to the Christian Faith, but that your priests, close at hand, neglect it, and omit to kindle their longings by exhortations.’ And in the letter to Queen Brumeheld : ‘ We give you to know that it reached us that the English nation wished to be made Christian, but the priests who are close at hand, have not a pastoral anxiety towards them.’

“ In a long series of time, and consequent revolution of things, it came to pass, that the right of erecting a new Bishopric should rest with the Roman Pontiff alone. Not that he reserved this right to himself, so as to augment his own jurisdiction at the expense of that of the Bishops, but either that other Bishops were somewhat negligent in extending the bounds of the Christian empire, or that they paid this mark of respect to the first See, or that princes trusted the Pontiff

more, or that the people applied more to the seat of St. Peter, or that the Pontiff was more kindled with the fire of faith ; or it may be, that it was so ordered by the Divine counsels, by the disposal of that same Spirit of Christ, who forming the Church, and giving it a head, and giving strength to that head, and bidding him ‘strengthen his brethren,’ the very chiefest members of His Body, did in the very infancy of the Church, when so large a multitude was added to the Church by two discourses of Peter, foreshadow what was to be expected as to its future growth, chiefly through the influence and love of that head. Hence it may have been, that all this power came to the successors of Peter, *which was not reserved to them by any written law*, until the practice of several centuries had made it theirs. It is quite certain, that neither Gregory the Great, nor Sergius II. or III. nor Zacharius, ever reserved this right to themselves ; and yet they almost alone exercised it. So it ever is in human affairs, that offices at length devolve as a right to him to whom others for a long time leave them to be exercised. If equals gain rights by prescription, how much more superiors ! Such is the inoffensive and guileless way, whereby most rights have been devolved and become prescriptive, neither Pontiffs nor Bishops intending it, but custom insensibly establishing it immovably. Thus both in civil and ecclesiastical government, many things take place unintended, and unperceived, which when they have come to pass, no one can undo.”

With this candid statement (the translator adds) it can only be looked upon as a sort of apology, that he conjectures, that what took place in the middle ages may be an evidence or exhibition of what took place in the first ; thereby, however, conceding the more forcibly, that for the first centuries there was no direct historical evidence, as indeed all that there is, goes (as he remarks) the other way.

In opposition, then, to the two theories which have been here mentioned, the argument contained in these Lectures asserts the authority of the Church, through its several apostolic rulers, against the independent agency of individuals on the one hand, and the concentrated supremacy of the Pope, on the other. It

is maintained also, that the heathen within, or bordering upon, each diocese, are the especial charge of the Bishop presiding over that diocese ; and that, in regard to the several branches of the Church Catholic, each Church has *primarily* its sphere of more immediate action assigned to it in those countries with which it is brought into closer communication and contact by national and political relationship ; and that, within this sphere, its authority should be respected by other Churches. Let it be observed only, that asserting such a right as this is acknowledging an obligation.

No. IX.

LECTURE III.—Page 81.

On some Passages of Scripture adduced in Favour of independent Missionary Erection.

THE passages of Scripture adduced, in a small work entitled *The Missionary Church*, p. 59, by Mr. Stowell, (an Independent Minister, it is believed,) in support of the theory of the Gospel being extended by voluntary individual agency, and by the “mutual faith and charity of the primitive Churches,” are the following : Acts viii. 4 ; 1 Thess. i. 8 ; 3 John 6, 7, 8. But a very slight notice of these will show how incapable they are of supporting any such argument.

In the first instance,—on the death of Stephen, it is said, οἱ μὲν οὖν διασπαρέντες διῃλθον, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι, κ.τ.λ. In the following Appendix, No. X. it will be shown that no direct promulgation of the Gospel to the heathen is here implied. In addition to which, it was not the Church at Jerusalem that was thus scattered abroad and extended the Gospel.

The second instance is, 1 Thess. i. 8. “For from you sounded forth the word of the Lord, not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but in every place your faith to Godward is spread abroad.” This passage, as the context shows, implies merely

that, by the example which the converts exhibited of Christian conduct, the word of God was noised abroad and made way.

Again, the last passage (3 John 6, 7, 8,) seems to have even less in it to bear out any theory of either individual or combined voluntary proceedings. "Which have borne witness of thy charity before the Church: whom if thou bring forward on their journey after a godly sort, thou shalt do well: because that for his name's sake they went forth, taking nothing of the Gentiles. We therefore ought to receive such, that we might be fellow-helpers to the truth." Who the brethren were that went forth is not mentioned, whether they were sent or otherwise,—by any Church, or by the Apostles themselves.

In speaking of the Apostleship, Blumhardt uses the following argument. He says that "this sacred commission indicated itself in some sensible way;" and that "in general an Apostle was recognised by his works, rather than by the manner of his nomination. (2 Cor. xii. 12, &c.) That is the principle, at least," (he adds,) "from which the Apostle Paul seems to start in all his discussions on this subject." Vol. i. p. 8. Not so, certainly: for St. Paul commences his epistles ordinarily by urging his Apostleship on the ground of his being called "through the will of God," and "by the commandment of Jesus Christ." This is the point he starts from, and to which he refers in proof of his Apostleship, as when he says, (1 Cor. ix. 1,) "Am I not an Apostle? Am I not free? Have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord?" And the *signs* which he mentions are the *fruits* of his Apostleship, and of the grace accompanying it.

No. X.

LECTURE III.—Page 82.

On the Use of the Word χειροτονήθεις.

THE controversy on the word χειροτονεῖν turns upon the question whether it is to be understood as signifying, to elect by suffrage, by holding up of the hand,—or, to ordain by the

imposition of hands. The discussion is fully entered into in Bishop Bilson's "Perpetual Government of Christ's Church," pp. 111—125, Oxford, 1842; the substance of which is as follows: "There can be no question, but, as among the profane Grecians, χειροτονεῖν did signify to lift up the hand in token of liking, because that was *their manner* in yielding their consent; so, amongst all ecclesiastical writers, χειροτονεῖν is to lay hands on another man's head, *which the Church of Christ used in calling and approving* her Bishops and Presbyters, to whom she committed the care of souls." And he proves very satisfactorily that, in their Christian usage, χειροτονία and χειροθεσία were synonymous. An argument on the same point may be found in Mr. Rose's Commission and Duties of the Clergy, p. 56, note, in which he remarks:—"That it meant a designation to an office by the Apostles, must, I think, be allowed, (see Hoadley's Brief Defence of Episcopacy, c. iii. pp. 204—206;) and when we remember the positive evidence existing as to the method in which that designation was made on other occasions, I hardly think we go beyond the mark in affixing to the word a sense descriptive of that method, and certainly belonging to the word a little later."—He observes also, with great truth, that, whatever is the meaning of the word χειροτονέω (in Acts xiv. 23), it applies to *Paul and Barnabas*, and *not to the people*. Suicer gives two meanings to the word χειροτονία, as signifying, 1. election, or form of suffrage;—2. ordination; and quotes the following words from S. Chrysostom, τοῦτο ἡ χειροτονία καλεῖται ἡ χεὶρ ἐπὶ κεφαλήν τοῦ ἀνδρός. The purpose of the learned note of Hammond, on Acts xiv. 23, is to the same effect, showing that χειροτονία has, no doubt, first, a general meaning, corresponding with καθεστᾶν, but that, secondly, it was used in a Christian and restricted sense, in which it was the same as χειροθεσία.

No. XI.

LECTURE III.—Page 82.

On the Expressions κηρύττειν, εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, &c. as denoting the act of one authoritatively commissioned.

THE note of Hammond on Acts viii. 4 and 5, will give the general outline of the argument here advanced, and may first be quoted:—

“Some difference may perhaps be here observed between εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν λόγον, (ver. 4,) and ἐκήρυξε τὸν Χριστόν (ver. 5); but this not in respect of the matter of their preaching, but of the manner of it, and of the qualifications of the persons that did it. The latter of these, κηρύσσειν, *to preach Christ*, doth generally signify a public, solemn, proclaiming of Him, as when a κήρυξ, *herald or cryer*, doth, *pro officio*, by way of office, proclaim anything; but εὐαγγελίζεσθαι imports no more than *telling it, making it known, as good news is published without the voice of an herald, or cryer*, by all that have heard, to all they meet with: and although in one respect, (that of proclaiming anew what was not known before,) this κηρύσσειν, *to preach*, and εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, *to tell glad tidings*, do agree, yet in this other respect they differ sometimes. Not that εὐαγγελίζεσθαι is never used of that public, authoritative proclaiming; for it is sometimes used of the Apostles, (Acts v. 42, xv. 35,) and the word εὐαγγελιστής, *evangelist*, is the name of an office in the Apostles’ times, and then, whensoever it was done by way of office either apostolical, or by mission from them, it is evident that εὐαγγελίζεσθαι and κηρύσσειν are in all respects the same; but I say that sometimes, and particularly in this place, εὐαγγελίζεσθαι may belong to whatsoever publishing of the Gospel of Christ, and by whomsoever, that is, by those who have no calling to it.”

To this passage I would add, that, in respect of the word κηρύττειν, I find, on examining the passages in the New Testament in which it occurs, that it denotes an authoritative

proclamation of the Gospel, *pro officio*, either by the Apostles themselves, or by men commissioned by them to this office. The only passage, which might seem to form an exception to this rule, is (Philip. i. 15,) where St. Paul complains of some Christians “preaching” (κηρύσσοντες) Christ “of contention,” “in pretence,” or “by occasion.” The interpretation set upon this passage by Mr. Keble, in his Sermon on Primitive Tradition, Appendix A. will probably be in the reader’s mind; viz. that it was not any “formal preaching” that was here complained of by the Apostle, but that the word κηρύσσειν is used merely in “a secondary sense,” as denoting “the pains taken by adversaries to spread the report of the Apostle’s imprisonment,” whereby they became, in a certain sense, “heralds of Christ.”—But to this I would add, further, that, even supposing *some* formal preaching to have been denoted here, yet the Apostle specially *complains of it*; he might rejoice at the good effect which God permitted to arise from it, still he complains of the act, as being done in rivalry (ἐν ἔργῳ) to him. Now this could not be by duly commissioned men,—therefore it was *irregular preaching*; the very point of the Apostle’s complaint is that his adversaries were contumaciously performing an *apostolic function*; so that the passage only confirms the argument that the word κηρύττειν implies this.

In respect to the word εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, it is true that it does, at times, mean only “*telling good news*,” but this meaning is more rare than the expression used by Hammond would imply; it generally means *official proclamation*, and then is always applied to men acting by direct commission. I discover only two passages in the Acts and the Epistles, in which the word is applied to uncommissioned people publishing the glad tidings,—viz. Acts viii. 4, and xi. 20; and these refer to *the same occasion*, when those who were scattered on the death of Stephen went publishing the news of the Gospel. On comparing these passages, it will be seen at once that the expression εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν λόγον is identical with λαλοῦντες τὸν λόγον (xi. 19); so that it means (as was most natural) that those who were dispersed, men and women, published the glad tidings “by conversation” with those they met, and by private intercourse. This interpretation is adopted by Bishop

J. B. Sumner, in his Exposition of the Acts of the Apostles, who observes, on the two passages, that what is translated “preaching” does not mean “by a direct commission;” but “implies *conversation* rather than *public preaching*.”

It is worth observing, in connexion with this topic, that the act of preaching *to the unconverted*, and *to the converted*, is designated by different expressions;—in the former case, it is expressed by κηρύττω, or εὐαγγελίζομαι; in the latter, by διδάσκω, or διαλέγομαι; and these are always kept distinct. This is clearly marked in Acts v. 42, and xv. 35, in both of which places the Apostles are spoken of as διδάσκοντες καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι,—which words are not tautologous, but imply the double office of teaching the converted, and preaching to the unconverted. See also how St. Paul’s instruction to the converts at Troas is expressed (Acts xx. 7), and at Ephesus (xx. 20). The distinction is apt to be overlooked from the indiscriminate use of the word “preaching” in our version. The same difference may also be frequently observed between λόγος and διδαχὴ or διδασκαλία, as Hammond observes on Matt. ix. 35, note *l*; “the first, *without* the Church, to unbelievers; the second, *within* it, to those that were already converted to the faith.”—This is illustrated by 1 Tim. v. 17, where κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλία denotes the distinction. So in 2 Tim. iv. 2, κήρυξον τὸν λόγον literally means, “proclaim the Gospel to unbelievers.”

This distinction receives further illustration from a note by Mosheim, on 1 Tim. v. 17, “De rebus ant. Const. temp.” cap. xxxviii. p. 126, in which he remarks on the difference between those who preached to the unconverted, and those who instructed or exhorted Christian people. After observing that κοπιᾶω either by itself, or in conjunction with ἐν λόγῳ, or ἐν Κυρίῳ, is never to be understood as meaning the ordinary instruction of Christians, and quoting Rom. xvi. 12, and 1 Cor. iv. 12, he proceeds, “Sunt alii præter hos loci, quos ut ordine proferam nil opus est, in quibus *laborare* aut *simpli-citer*, aut *explicatione quâdam adjectâ positum*, non significat *Christianos erudire*, sed *populos veræ religionis nescios ejus cognitione imbuere*. Igitur non stultè prorsus et imperitè verba S. Pauli ad Timotheum, de quibus agimus, inter-

pretabitur, qui statuet, πρεσβυτέρους κοπιῶντας ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ¹ illos esse qui amplificandæ studebant ecclesiæ, atque Judæos, Deorumque cultores ab erroribus avocare et ad Christum adducere nitebantur, non eos, qui Christianos cultûs divini causa congregatos docebant et monebant,” p. 127. He proceeds to argue (maintaining his own theory on this point,) that St. Paul distributed presbyters into three classes, the *laborantes*, or κοπιῶντας, the *presidentes*, or προϊσταμένους, and the *exhortantes*, or ρουθετοῦντας, and then adds, “ex quo apparet, qui *laborare* dicuntur Apostolo diversos fuisse ab illis, qui populo congregato fidem explicabant et officia vitæ interpretabantur, seu monebant.”

NO. XII.

LECTURE III.—Page 84.

Instances of Missionaries sent to the Heathen, in earlier Times, by the neighbouring Bishops.

THE tradition is well known, which records that Irenæus was sent by Polycarp into Gaul, (circ. A.D. 160 ;) it is added also, that Pothinus received a similar commission, (Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. i. 27, 29. See Cave's Lives of the Fathers, p. 162.) Gregory Thaumaturgus, again, was summoned and commissioned by Phædimus, Bishop of Amasea, which bordered upon the paganized city of Neo-Cæsarea, to undertake that mission. A.D. 240. (Greg. Nyssen. Vita Greg. Thaum. p. 975, —quoted by Cave, p. 271-2.)—Afterwards, Pantænus was sent to the East “as far as the Indians,” (Euseb. II. E. v. 10,) Jerome adds, “by Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria.” (Cat. Script. Eccles. cap. xxxvi.) Athanasius sent Frumentius to Abyssinia, (Theod. Eccl. Hist. lib. i. cap. xxii.) Unilas was sent among the Goths, by S. Chrysostom;² (Ep. xiv. tom. iii.

¹ It will be observed that Mosheim is intent on drawing a distinction between κοπιῶν and ρουθετέω, which will account for his overlooking in these words the same distinction between λόγος and διδασκαλία.

² His words are, Οὐνίλας ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὁ θαυμάσιος ἐκέλευς, ὃν πρῶν ἐχειροτόνησα καὶ ἔπεμψα εἰς Γοτθίαν, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα κατορθώσας ἐκοιμήθη.

p. 600, Ed. Ben.) who also, hearing that a tribe of Scythians were desirous of instruction, sent to Leontius, Bishop of Ancyra, requesting him to send missionaries. Theodoret says he saw the letters. (Ecc. Hist. lib. v. cap. xxxi.) Moses Saracenus was sent to Alexandria to be consecrated Bishop of the Saracens, since the queen (Maira) *ἐπίσκοπον τοῦ οἰκείου ἔθνους ἤτειλάνειν*. (Socrates, iv. cap. xxxvi.) At a later period, according to Cyril the monk, in his life of Euthymius the Great, Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, “sent Peter to preside over the Saracen converts,—and thus Peter was ordained the first Bishop of those who dwelt in Palestine.” (Surius, Vit. Patr. Jan. 30.) These last words are reconciled with the preceding sentence, by understanding that the latter converts were a different tribe of Saracens from that over which Maira ruled. Moses was sent about A. D. 377, just before the death of Valens; Peter, later than A. D. 407.

In regard to the missions of a later date, it is well known that an argument against Episcopal authority and jurisdiction has been drawn from the supposed custom of the monastic houses in the mediæval centuries, within which missionaries are represented as being “ordained and sent to preach.” This argument has been adduced by Selden, *Præfat. ad decem Scriptores*;—Baxter, on *Episcopacy*;—and Jamieson, *Historical Account of the ancient Culdees*, in support of the Presbyterian form of Church Government. One of the chief passages on which the argument is built, is that which occurs in Bede, where he relates the circumstance of Aidan’s being ordained and sent to preach the Gospel in the north of England. He is speaking of the monastery of Hy, or Iona, in which Aidan resided, and mentions that, on Aidan’s speech, all eyes were fixed on him as one worthy of the episcopate,—“sicque illum ordinantes ad prædicandum miserunt.” (Bede, *Hist. lib. iii. cap. v.* quoted in Bishop Russell’s *Hist. of the Church in Scotland*, vol. i. p. 18.)

It may be well, then, here to transcribe the following passages from Bishop Lloyd’s *Historical Account of Church Government in Great Britain*, (London, 1684, p. 162, &c.) in which the custom of the monastic houses, in this respect, is learnedly and conclusively set forth.

“When by this monastic education any one was made fit to

take orders, in the judgment of them that were his superiors in that place, then he was to be ordained; but by whom? By his superiors in the monastery? It must be so, if they had the power of ordination. And so, indeed, our adversaries would have it, that the abbot and his senior monks did ordain those that were sent out of their monastery; and that, not only into the lower orders, but into the order of bishop; as they show us in the example of Aidan, and his successors. But this is so far from being true, that I dare challenge our adversaries to show any instance where the abbot and monks, without a bishop among them, ordained so much as one single presbyter. I shall show, on the contrary, by many instances, that as it was necessary to have orders conferred in the monasteries (without which there could be no administration of sacraments), so bishops were held necessary on this very account, that they might confer orders on those that were judged fit to be ordained in the monasteries."

Then, after proceeding to speak of the exemption from ordinary episcopal jurisdiction, which some monasteries enjoyed, he adds:—

"The most ancient privileges of this kind that I have observed in the Western Church, were those that were enjoyed by the African monasteries. They were, for one while, so exempt that¹ the bishop, in whose diocese they were, had nothing to do with them, except when they themselves were pleased to make use of his assistance.

"About the year of Christ 500, we find² that they might choose what bishop they pleased, in the whole province, to ordain and do other episcopal acts in their monastery. It appears³ that whomsoever they chose they were tied to; he was their bishop as long as he lived; but when he died they were not tied to his successor, but might choose either him or any other whom they pleased. For (as they pleaded in the council of Carthage) they were⁴ not under any bishop, out of duty, but out of choice, except only the Archbishop of Carthage, who was their primate. Afterwards they were

¹ Concil. Edit. Labbe, tom. iv. col. 1649 and 1785. B.

² Ib. col. 1646. D. E.

³ Ib.

⁴ Ib. col. 1785. B.

confined to the bishop of the diocese; so that he,¹ and no other, when they desired it, might ordain any whom they chose out of their number, or might give confirmation, or might consecrate a new oratory. And it is expressed by what pattern this was done,² that it was in like manner as the monastery of Lerin, in France (now S. Honoré), was confined to the bishop of the diocese.

“In France and Spain, how this matter was ordered, it appears in the canons of their councils of Agde³ and Lerida.⁴ There was none to be ordained in any monastery but by the bishop, in whose diocese it was. But then it must be at the desire of the abbot, or at least with his leave, and not otherwise. But besides, we find that some greater monasteries had bishops in them of their own, who were elected by the abbot and monks, and were ordained by the adjacent bishops, to the end that they might preach and do episcopal offices in their monasteries. Of this kind we have examples⁵ in S. Martin’s, near Tours, and the monastery of St. Denis, near Paris, which had such bishops in them from ancient times; and we have an account of their successions for some ages. The like we have of the Bishops that were in St. Colomb’s monastery at Hy, of whom there is mention in the Ulster Annals.⁶ So that in either case, of exempt or not exempt monasteries, there were bishops to be had for the ordaining of monks; and no pretence to have it done by the abbot, that was no bishop, though his leave or consent was needful to the ordination.”

¹ Concil. Edit. Labbe, tom. iv. 1785. B.

² Ib. col. 1649. A.B.

³ Concil. Agath. c. 27.

⁴ Concil. Ilerd. c. 3.

⁵ Acta SS. Ord. Benedict. Seculo viii. in pref. pp. xx. xxi.

⁶ Usher de primord. p. 701.

No. XIII.

LECTURE III.—Page 84.

*Extract from Eusebius H. E. lib. iii. c. 37, on Evangelists
being sent to preach the Gospel.*

Καὶ ἄλλοι δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις πλείους ἐγνωρίζοντο κατὰ τούσδε, τὴν πρώτην τάξιν τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπέχοντες διαδοχῆς· οἳ καὶ ἅτε τηλικῶνδε ὄντες διαπρεπεῖς μαθηταί, τοὺς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προκαταβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων θεμελίους ἐπωκοδῶσιν, αὖξοντες εἰς πλεον τὸ κήρυγμα, καὶ τὰ σωτήρια σπέρματα τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας ἀνὰ πᾶσαν εἰς πλάτος ἐπισπείροντες τὴν οἰκουμένην. Καὶ γὰρ ὅτι πλεῖστοι τῶν τότε μαθητῶν σφοδρότέρῳ φιλοσοφίας ἔρωτι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου τὴν ψυχὴν πληττόμενοι, τὴν σωτήριον προτέρον ἀπεπλήρουν παρακέλευσιν, ἐνδεέσι νέμοντες τὰς οὐσίας. Ἐπειτα δὲ ἀποδημίας στελλόμενοι, ἔργον ἐπετέλουν εὐαγγελιστῶν, τοῖς ἔτι ἀάμπαν ἀνηκούσις τοῦ τῆς πίστεως λόγου κηρύττειν τὸν Χριστὸν φιλοτιμούμενοι, καὶ τὴν τῶν θείων εὐαγγελίων παραδιδόναι γραφὴν.

No. XIV.

LECTURE III.—Page 85.

Extract from the Council of Chalcedon, Canon 28.

The hundred and fifty Bishops of the Council of Constantinople, τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα ἀπένειμαν τῷ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἀγιοτάτῳ θρόνῳ, εὐλόγως κρίναντες, τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ συγκλήτῳ τιμηθεῖσαν πόλιν, καὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύουσιν πρεσβείων τῇ πρεσβυτέρῳ βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ὡς ἐκείνην μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, δευτέραν μετ' ἐκείνην ὑπάρχουσαν. Καὶ ὥστε τοὺς τῆς Ποντικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀσιανῆς καὶ τῆς Θρακικῆς διοικήσεως μητροπολίτας μόνους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς ἐπισκόπους τῶν προειρημένων διοικήσεων χειροτονεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου ἀγιοτάτου θρόνου τῆς κατὰ Κωνσταντινουπόλιν ἀγιοτάτης ἐκκλη-

σίας· ὁηλαδὴ ἐκάστων μητροπολίτου τῶν προειρημέγων διοικήσεων μετὰ τῶν τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπων χειροτονοῦντος τοὺς τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπους, καθὼς τοῖς θείοις κανόσι διηγόρευται· χειροτονεῖσθαι εἰ, καθὼς εἴρηται τοὺς μητροπολίτας τῶν προειρημέγων διοικήσεων περὶ τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀρχιεπισκόπου, ψηφισμάτων συμφώνων κατὰ τὸ ἔθος γενομένων, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένων.

No. XV.

LECTURE IV.—Page 110.

The Extension of the Gospel in Europe between the Fifth and Fourteenth Centuries.

CENTURY.

- 5th Among the Burgundians, Scotch, and Irish, Franks (under Clovis, King of France, 491.)
- 6th Among the Piets, Heruli (on the Danube), Abasgi.
- 7th Among the Lombards, West-Saxons, East-Angles, Middle-Angles, Treveri; in Franconia, Switzerland, Westphalia, Friesland, Thuringia.
- 8th In Thuringia, Hessa, Bavaria, Westphalia, and among the Venedi.
- 9th In Saxony, Denmark, Sweden, Bohemia and Moravia, Hungary.
- 10th In Norway, Poland, Russia, Normandy.
- 11th More perfectly in Sweden and Denmark, Hungary, Bulgaria.
- 12th In Livonia, Pomerania.
- 13th & 14th. In Prussia, (by the Teutonic Knights,) Lithuania.

The preceding table is designed to mark generally the course of the expansion of the Gospel. The "Lux Evangelii," &c. of Fabricius contains references to works respecting the conversion of almost every country named.

In Mr. Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons" the following tabular statement is given, "as a conjectural but probable representation of the progressive increase of the number of Christians in the world."

1st Century	500,000	10th Century . . .	50,000,000
2d „	2,000,000	11th „ . . .	70,000,000
3d „	5,000,000	12th „ . . .	80,000,000
4th „	10,000,000	13th „ . . .	75,000,000
5th „	15,000,000	14th „ . . .	80,000,000
6th „	20,000,000	15th „ . . .	100,000,000
7th „	25,000,000	16th „ . . .	125,000,000
8th „	30,000,000	17th „ . . .	155,000,000
9th „	40,000,000	18th „ . . .	200,000,000

(Ferussac. Bull. Univers. Georg. p. 4, Jan. 1827.)

"But I think," he adds, "in this nineteenth century, the real number of the Christian population of the world is nearer to three hundred millions, and is visibly much increasing, from the missionary spirit and exertions which are now distinguishing the chief Protestant nations in the world. The Jews, from the number which I have observed in every part of the globe, are between six and eight millions; the Mahometans not above eighty millions; and the Pagans, in the four quarters of the earth, do not exceed six hundred millions."—Vol. iii. p. 484, *note*, 6th Edit.

NEANDER, in his "Allgemeine Geschichte," presents, in a tabular form, the expansion and contraction of the Church for a series of ages. From this table I have extracted the statement which follows, exhibiting the condition of the Church, in its increase or diminution, between the fifth and ninth centuries. It will be seen that the table is not very full, and that several of the events have dates affixed to them which do not correspond with those assigned by other writers. On this account I have prefixed another column, in which I have suppld several dates omitted in Neander's list, and added others, in which he differs from the commonly received chronology.

The column headed N designates the list of dates as given by Neander.

A.D.	N A.D.	EXPANSION.	A.D.	CONTRACTION.
430		Among the Burgundians.		
450—482		By Severinus, in the S. East of Germany; afterwards among the Franks. (Childebert's law against idol worship, 554.)	cire. 450	Anglo-Saxons oppress the Christian Britons.
		In Nubia and Abyssinia.		
^a 432 ^b 546—597	565	Among the Piets, ^a Ninian, and ^b Columba.	cire. 531	Restoration of Heathenism in Hesse and Thuringia.
570		Goar on the Rhine. Wulfach near Treves.		
^c 596—604	616 605	In Kent, under Ethelbert, by ^c Augustine.		
^d 605	579	^d Laurentius (after 579)		
556—610		In France and Lombardy, Columban and Magnoald.	610	Rise of Mahometanism, oppression of Christians by Chosroes Parviz, King of Persia.
611		In Bavaria, Eustatius, Agil.		
	610	Among the Swiss — Swabian nations, Gallus.		
610		In Essex, under Sareth, Mellitus.	616	Eadbald, Kent, idol worshipper. Mellitus driven out of Essex.
	635	In China, Olopuen?		Heathenism prevails in Sussex.
Born 588	659	Eligius. Bishop of Tournay.		
	656	In Brabant, Livin. ¹		
634—709		In Sussex, Wilfrid.		

¹ The death of Livin is placed by some writers at A.D. 633.

A.D.	<div>N A.D.</div>	EXPANSION.	A.D.	CONTRACTION.
626—675	679	Among the Frisians, Amandus.		
500—538		In Alsace, & Switzerland, Fridolin. ¹	7th & 8th century.	Deeds of violence by the conquering Mahometans against the Christians.
612		In Brisgau, Thrudpert.		
685—688		In Frankiscan, (Eastern Franks,) Kyllena.		
^a 649		In Bavaria, under Theodo I., by ^a Emmeran, under Theodo II., by ^b Rudbert ² and ^c Corbinian.		
^b 626				
^c 717				
^d 658—738	739	Among the Frisians, by Wigibert. ^d Wilibrord, Bishop of Utrecht.	719	Resistance of the Frisians under Radbod.
694		The Brothers Henwald.		
695—713		Among the Boruchtuarians, Suibert.		
Died 720		Wulfram of Sens.		
	680—755	Boniface, in Friesland, Thuringia, Hesse, & Bavaria.		
	755	In Friesland, Eoban.		
700—776	781	Gregory [of Utrecht].		
744 ³	779	In Hesse, Abbot Sturm.	circ. 779	The Dukes promote heathenism in Thuringia. The Saxons lay waste the Christian institutions.
782—803		Conversion by violence among the Saxons.		

¹ This is clearly misplaced. Fridolin was at least a century earlier than the place he occupies in Neander's list.

² Great uncertainty exists as to the date of Rupert; while some writers, such as Canisius, place it as given in the table, Mabillon assigns it a century later.

³ Founded the convent of Fulda, A.D. 744; died A.D. 779.

A.D.	$\frac{N}{A.D.}$	EXPANSION.	A.D.	CONTRACTION.
	809	Among the Frisians, Liudger.	782—803	Opposition of the Saxons to Christianity. The Saxons promote heathenism among the Franks.
			782—785	Wittekind's rebellion.
798		Among the Avars, Aruo of Salzburg.		The Christians in Spain oppressed by the Saracens.
	778—820	Timothy, Nestorian Patriarch in Syria, founds Missions for China and the East Indies. Kardag, Jabdallahah, Daniel.	circ. 820	Resistance of the Slavonian tribes to Christianity.

No. XVI.

LECTURE IV.—Page 110.

A List of some of the more eminent Missionaries in Northern Europe, between the Fifth and Eleventh Centuries.

NAME.	SCENE OF LABOUR.	A.D.	SOURCE OF INFORMATION.
Martin of Tours.	Gaul.	316—397	Sulpicius Severus.
Honoratus.	Gaul.	400	Hilary of Arles.
Patrick.	Ireland.	430—470	Jocekin. Usher. Antiq. cap. xvii.
Severin.	Noricum, or Austria.	450	Vita S. Sev. Acta Sane.

NAME.	SCENE OF LABOUR.	A. D.	SOURCE OF INFORMATION.
Romanus and Lupicinus.	Jura.	450	Greg. Turon. Vitæ Patr. cap. i.
Benedict.	Goths.	480—543	Acta Sanct. Sæc. I.
Fridolin.	Allemanni. Black Forest.	500	Vita à Berthero Seck- ingensi Monacho. cf. Acta Sanct. tom. i. Index S.S. præterm.
Medard.	Flanders.	530	Gregor. Turon. de Glor. Confess.
Remigius.	Frances.	533	Vita à Ilincemar. Su- rius, tom. i.
Seine.	Burgundy.	500—600	Greg. Turon. de Glor. Confess. cap. 88. Cours d'Hist. Mod. tom. ii. p. 176.
Columba, or Co- lumb-kill.	Scotland.	521—597	Acta Sanct. Ben. Sæc. I.
Erroul.	Normandy.	547	Acta Sanct. Ben. Sæc. I.
Columban.	Vosges. Lom- bards.	556—616	Vita à Jonas, in Surius Vitæ Patrum and Bede Vit. Columb.
Eligius.	Frances.	588—659	Gallia Christiana. tom. ix. Surius, tom. vi.
Augustin.	Anglo-Saxons.	597	Bede.
Eustasius.	Bavaria.	611	Vita à Jonas. Acta Sanct. Sæc. II.
Gallus.	Switzerland.	627	Vita à Walfrid Strabo. Acta Sanct. Sæc. II.
Livin.	Brabant.	633	Vita Auctore Bonifacio. Acta Sanct. Sæc. II.
Aidan.	Anglo-Saxons.	635	Bede.
Goar.	Rhine. Treves.	570	Acta Sanct. Sæc. II.
Rupert and Trudpert.	On the Rhine, and Bavaria and Black Forest.	600—626	Canisii Lection. pt. iii.
Kilian.	Thuringia.	685	Acta Sanct. Sæc. II.

NAME.	SCENE OF LABOUR.	A. D.	SOURCE OF INFORMATION.
Willibrord and eleven Companions.	Thuringia and Frisons.	692	Aleuin. Vit. Willib. Emmii Hist. Frisonum, p. 52. Sarius, tom. vi.
Winfrid, or Boniface.	Germany.	680—755	Vita à Willebaldo. Acta Sanct. Sæc. III. p. 2. Histoire Gén. des Auteurs Sacrés par Ceillier, tom. xviii.
Sturm.	Hesse and Thuringia.	circ. 744	Vita ab Aigile. Acta Sanct. Ben. tom. iii. pt. ii. Hist. des Aut. Eccl. par Ceillier, tom. xviii.
Gregory of Utrecht.	On the Ems.	700—776	Vita à Liudger, his pupil. Acta Sanct. Ben. tom. iii. pt. ii.
Liafwin, or Lebuinus.	Saxons.	770	Sarius, tom. vi.
Willebad.	Frisons. Saxons.	775	Monumenta Germaniæ Historica, p. 378. Vita ab Anschario. Sarius, tom. vi.
Arno of Salzburg.	Avares.	798	Canisiû Lection. à Basnage, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 449.
Liudger.	Frisians.	809	Acta Sanct. Ben. Sæc. IV.
Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims.	Jutland.	822—851	Hist. des Aut. Eccles. par Ceillier, tom. xviii.
Anschar.	Danes & Swedes.	823—865	Vita à Rimberto, in Scriptor. Rer. Dan. No. 30, and Ceillier, Hist. des Aut. Eccl. tom. xix.
Gautbert.	Swedes.	832	Adam Bremen. Hist. Eccl. and Vita Anscharii à Rimberto.
Rimbert.	Swedes.	844	Adam Bremen. Hist. Eccl. and Ceillier, Hist. des Aut. Eccl. tom. xix.
John Sigurd.	Norway.	993	} Adam Brem. lib. ii.
Sigfrid and Grimkill.	Norway.	1019	

No. XVII.

LECTURE IV.—Page 112.

On the Preaching of the Gospel in India.

THE statement in the text is made in the persuasion that the Gospel was not preached in India Proper, either by St. Thomas the Apostle, or by Pantænus. The former tradition is scarcely now maintained, and arose from a confusion of the Apostle with either a Manichæan, or an Armenian merchant who bore that name. (La Croze, *Christianisme des Indes*, i. pp. 57—70, cited by Gibbon, ch. xlvii.) The question of Pantænus having conveyed the Gospel beyond the Indus depends on the locality given to the term “India,” whither he was sent to preach. Mr. Hough, in his late work on Christianity in India, is almost alone among later writers in supposing that the East Indies are meant. But, without entering on a discussion of the evidence, he states nothing to invalidate the conclusion (from the same facts) drawn by Mosheim (*De Rebus Christ.* p. 206); by Böhlen (*Das alte Indien*, p. 379); by Prof. Burton (*Lect. on Eccl. Hist.* ii. p. 204); and by Blumhardt (*Etabl. du Christianisme*, i. p. 301); who consider that by the term India, a district of Arabia Felix, or Ethiopia, was designated. Neander leaves the question open, (*Hist. of Christ. Rel.* p. 76.) On the opinion expressed in the Lecture, the following note may be quoted from Mr. Milman’s ed. of Gibbon, vol. viii. p. 352. “The St. Thomé Christians,” the editor remarks, “had excited a great interest in the ardent mind of the admirable Bishop Heber The arguments of his friend and coadjutor Mr. Robinson, have not convinced me that the Christianity of India is older than the Nestorian dispersion.”

No. XVIII.

LECTURE IV.—Page 125.

Extract from the Life of Eligius, in the Denkwürdigkeiten of Neander, vol. iii.

“WHEN he had heard that a vessel of slaves had arrived, captives of Roman, Gallic, British or Moorish descent, particularly of Saxon, who were driven in large bands, like cattle, he hastened to the spot and purchased the freedom of as many as an hundred at a time. If gold were wanting, he gave not only his small jewels, but even needful portions of his garments, and spared even part of his daily food. He then went with them to the King, and procured certificates of their freedom; after which, he offered them their choice,—either to return free to their own country, in which case he gave them money for the journey,—or to remain with him, not as servants, but as free brethren,—or to become monks, in which case he procured them a good reception in a cloister.”

No. XIX.

LECTURE IV.—Page 127.

On the inadequacy of Secondary Causes to account for the rapid Growth of the Church.

THE impression, which it is clearly the purpose of the author of Rome's Decline and Fall to leave on the mind, by the enumeration of the five causes which he adduces to account for the rapid growth of the Church, is all the more likely to be conveyed, from the fact of these causes being urged *merely as secondary*. Although no reflecting and well-principled mind could be affected by the insidious representations made in the famous chapter in which the subject is treated, yet the real

weakness of the causes which Gibbon mentions, even as aiding the propagation of the Church, may not be apparent to all. I therefore extract the following passage, which contains the summary of a small work of Sir David Dalrymple (Lord Hales), entitled, *An Enquiry into the Secondary Causes which Mr. Gibbon has assigned for the rapid Growth of Christianity*, pp. 332—338; in which the writer has, with considerable acuteness, examined the strength of the arguments adduced by the historian.

“All that now remains is to recapitulate, briefly, the five secondary causes, which, in the judgment of Mr. Gibbon, ‘so efficaciously assisted the growth of the Christian religion.’ His first proposition, as we have seen, is, that Christianity became victorious over the established religions of the earth, by its very doctrine, and by the ruling providence of its great Author; and his last, of a like import, is, that Christianity is the truth. Between his first and his last propositions there are no doubt many dissertations, digressions, inferences and hints, not altogether consistent with his avowed principles.

“I. The first secondary cause of the rapid growth of the Christian religion is said to have been, ‘the inflexible and intolerant zeal of the Christians,’—a zeal, when unsupported and even repressed by secular power, of all things the most likely to check instead of accelerating the growth of Christianity.

“II. ‘The doctrine of a future life, improved by every additional circumstance which could give weight or efficacy to that important truth.’—This, however, must have been a primary, and not secondary, cause of the rapid growth of Christianity; for, if we may credit St. Paul, ‘Christ has abolished death, and has brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel.’

“III. ‘The supernatural gifts ascribed to the Christians.’—This, if understood of miraculous powers really exercised, ought to be ranked among the primary causes of the rapid growth of Christianity; if understood of ‘lying wonders,’ it is hard to say why the Pagans, who had fictitious miracles of their own, should have rejected them, and adopted what, in the present argument, must be considered as fables, the invention of a hated and persecuted sect.

“IV. ‘The virtues of the primitive Christians.’—Mr. Gibbon admits, not only that they were virtuous, but also that they were more virtuous than their heathen contemporaries. But what made them to differ from others? Let us answer, till we are better informed, ‘The grace of God that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.’ So, if the virtues of the primitive Christians did contribute, in some measure, to the rapid growth of Christianity, we must ascribe such effects, not to any secondary cause, but to the primitive cause of those virtues, the grace of God.

“V. ‘The union and the discipline of the Christian republic.’—This indeed would have strengthened the Church, if not augmented the number of believers; but between the apostolic times and the accession of Constantine, the Christians were not so studious as became them, in preserving ‘the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,’ neither was discipline, at all times, regularly and prudently maintained among them.

“Thus it appears that the things which Mr. Gibbon considered as secondary, or human causes efficaciously promoting the Christian religion, either tended to retard its progress, or were the manifest operations of the wisdom or power of God.”

No. XX.

LECTURE IV.—Page 136.

On the evanescent Power of the Arian Tribes.

BLUMHARDT, amongst other writers, has noticed the fact which is observed in the text, and which is borne out by history. The earlier tribes who received the Arian faith, during its short ascendancy, were, as Gibbon remarks, (vol. iii. p. 534,) the

Ostrogoths in Pannonia and Italy,—the Visigoths in Southern France and Eastern Spain,—the Suevi in Galicia and Portugal,—the Burgundians in Southern France,—the Heruli in Polish Germany,—the Vandals in Africa. It will be observed at once, that none of these tribes established a kingdom which has perpetuated the name of its founders. They were absorbed, as it seems, by the old Roman population, or invaded and subdued by other tribes, and then assumed the original name of the country, or of their new conquerors. The name of the Burgundians has, indeed, been retained in a small portion of the territory once held by them, but their dominion ceased at a very early date in their history; they were subdued by the sons of Clovis, and received the orthodox faith from the Franks, in 532. (Gibbon, vol. iii. p. 572.) “It lasted,” observes Malte-Brun, (*Géographie Universelle*, livr. xv.) “only from 414 to 536.” At a conference at Lyons in 499, by order of the King of Burgundy, in order to settle the religious disputes of the two parties, Gundobald reproached the orthodox bishops with allowing the King of the Franks to invade his territory. “The answer of Avitus, Bishop of Vienna, who spoke in the name of his brethren, was delivered with the voice and countenance of an angel. ‘We are ignorant of the motives and intentions of the King of the Franks, but we are taught by Scripture, that the kingdoms which abandon the divine law are frequently subverted; and that enemies will arise on every side, against those who have made God their enemy. Return with thy people to the law of God, and He will give peace and security to thy dominions.’” (Gibbon, vol. iii. p. 570.)

On the other hand, it will be observed that the Angles, the Saxons, the Franks, the Allemanni, and even the Lombards, transmitted their name to kingdoms founded by them, and have preserved their distinctiveness even to this day. Of the latter, Malte-Brun observes, without any reference to the reflection which is here illustrated: “Le royaume de Lombardie fut conquis par Charlemagne (774), mais il fut long-temps comme un état à part; aussi le nom de la Lombardie a maintenu jusqu’à nos jours son ancienne célébrité.”—*Géog. Univ.* livr. xv. p. 145.

No. XXI.

LECTURE V.—Page 144.

On the Miracles attributed to Francis Xavier.

As to the abstract question, whether miraculous powers still reside in the Church, and whether at any particular time, in later ages, God has vouchsafed this evidence of the truth to any of His servants, it would be presumption to state any positive *à priori* opinion. It is a question of evidence; and by this the several alleged instances of such Divine interposition must be tried. In reference, then, to the miracles which are alleged to have been wrought by “the apostle of India,” and with which his history is commonly crowded, it will be enough to advance the following considerations, which would certainly lead us to entertain the accounts of them with hesitation.

We may observe, first, that there is no allusion to his having possessed any such power in the letters of Fr. Xavier himself. On the contrary, in cases where we might, perhaps, have expected divine assistance to have been miraculously accorded, as when he was unable to address the natives of a country through ignorance of their language, he bewails his inability, and sets himself to supply the deficiency.

In the next place, it is expressly stated by his biographer, that, when questioned upon the subject, he disclaimed the gift of working miracles. The writer implies that Xavier perceived not his possession of this endowment, owing to his humility. But surely no one could be ignorant of his exercising so great a power, if he possessed it; and to disown it would be a false humility, and by no means in accordance with the example of St. Paul. The following passage occurs in the *Life of St. Francis Xavier*, by Dryden. (Works, by Sir W. Scott, vol. xvi. pp. 499, 500.)

“As for those miracles which he continually wrought, they passed, in his opinion, as the effects of innocence in children, or for the fruits of faith in sick persons. And when, at the sight of a miraculous performance, the people were, at any time, about

to give him particular honours, he ran to hide himself in the thickest of a forest ; or, when he could not steal away, he entered so far into the knowledge of himself, that he stood secure from the least temptation to vain-glory. It even seemed that the low opinion which he had of his own worth in some sort blinded him, in relation to the wonders which he wrought, so that he perceived not they were miracles.

“ It was the common talk of Goa that he had raised the dead on the coast of Fishery. After his return to Goa, James Prorba and Cozmo Annez, his two intimate friends, requested him to inform them, for God’s further glory, how these matters went ; and particularly they inquired concerning the child who was drowned in the well. The holy man, at this request, hung down his head, and blushed exceedingly. When he had recovered somewhat of his bashfulness, ‘ Jesus ! ’ said he, ‘ what, I to raise the dead ! Can you believe these things of such a wretch as I am ? ’ After which, modestly smiling, he went on, ‘ Alas, poor sinner that I am ! they set before me a child, whom they reported to be dead, and who perhaps was not ; I commanded him, in the name of God, to arise ; he arose, indeed, and there was the miracle ! ’ ”

Thirdly, Josephus Acosta, in his work *De Promulgatione Evangelii apud Barbaros*, has a chapter expressly on the absence of miraculous powers, at that period, in preaching the Gospel. Acosta was a Jesuit missionary, and had laboured for seventeen years in the West Indies and South America, and was probably a contemporary of Fr. Xavier, since he dedicated his work to Philip II. of Spain in 1588. It is true, in another place, he speaks of miracles reported to have been performed by Xavier ; not, however, as bearing testimony to the reality of them ; whereas his general statement upon the point is as follows :—

“ Multus verò, inter hæc, illud quærere et admirari non temerè solere animadverti, quid sit quòd, nostrâ ætate, *in prædicatione evangelii apud novas gentes, miraculorum illa vis non cernatur quam Christus suis promisit*, quæque ad confirmanda superhumana dogmata singularitèr efficax est.” . . . In accounting for this fact, he adduces the words of St. Augustine on the inscrutability of the divine call, and proceeds as follows :—“ *Hæc autem vocatio, quæ sive in singulis hominibus, sive in populis, atque in ipso genere humano per temporum*

opportunitatem operatur, altæ et profundæ ordinationis est.' (Augustin. lib. de div. quæst. octoginta-tribus, Quæst. 68, tom. vi. p. 55. Ed. Ben.) Populum Israel sibi carum, initio de servitute Ægypti, Pharaone toties profligato, ingentibus prodigiis eripuit : eundem populum longè post de captivitate Babylonica patriæ restituit, non ita magnis operibus perpetratis Proinde Hieremias loquitur, 'Ecce dies veniunt, dicit Dominus, et non dicetur ultrà, Vivit Dominus, qui eduxit filios Israel de terrâ Ægypti ; sed, Vivit Dominus, qui eduxit filios Israel de terrâ Aquilonis, et de universis terris ad quas ejeceram eos.' (xxiii. 7-8.) Cui rei non dissimile mihi videtur, quòd ecclesiam suam olim in ipsis evangelii cunabulis, multorum signorum et variorum charismatum copiâ congregaverit, eandem modò de gentibus non minùs mirabilitèr mirabilium paritate colligit, diversa tempora, secundùm altissimas sapientiæ suæ leges, diversis rationibus administrans." Acosta then advances some reasons for the difference existing between the earlier and the later ages of the Christian church in respect of the possession of miraculous powers. "They were necessary *then*," he says, "on account of the people, to whom the gospel was preached, measuring all things by their reason ; and the unskilled illiterate preachers of the gospel would have had no authority with them, unless what they said had been recommended by the visible testimony of God in their favour." "Ita religio Christiana, ubi humana præsidia prorsus aberant, divinis est fundata miraculis." But now (he goes on) the case is quite otherwise. Those to whom the gospel is preached are inferior in all respects ; and those who preach it present it with the weight of antiquity, of numbers, and with all other means of persuasion on their side. The argument of miracles (he adds, quoting the sentiment of St. Chrysostom on 1 Cor. ii. 5) is perpetual, extending through all ages ; the witness they bear to the truth of a doctrine is equally strong in a subsequent age as in the age in which they are performed. "Non ergo fides, jam satis fundata miraculis, novis indiget confirmari, quin potius utilius esse asserit signis nunc carere, quoniam majoris meriti sit."

The great means of producing conviction (he concludes) is holiness of life. For miracles (as is urged by St. Chrysostom, Hom. vi. in 1 Cor.) increase the ill-will and opinion of bad

men ; but purity of life closes the mouth of Satan. This is confirmed by St. Paul's words (2 Cor. xii. 12), where he says that "the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds." "Here observe how Paul places patience before miracles, as an evidence of his apostleship ; as he does also in 1 Thess. ii., where he urges the purity of his life as an unanswerable evidence of the truth which he preached." See also lib. v. cap. xxii. p. 509.

Lastly, it was just at the same period, also, that Melchior Canus (Bishop of the Canaries, and a prominent character in the Council of Trent) thus reprobated the departure from veracity which characterised the narratives of the lives of saints by the Roman Catholics :—

"Dolentèr hoc dico potiùs quàm contumeliosè, multò a Laërtio severiùs vitas philosophorum scriptas, quàm a Christianis vitas sanctorum ; longèque incorruptiùs et integriùs Suetonium res Cæsarum exposuisse, quàm exposuerint Catholici, non res dico imperatorum, sed martyrum, virginum, et confessorum. Nostri plerique vel affectibus inserviunt, vel de industriâ quoque ita multa confingunt, ut eorum me nimirum non solùm pudeat, sed tædeat."—Loc. Theol. lib. xi. c. 6, pp. 333, 334. Ed. Colon. Agrip. 1585.

No. XXII.

LECTURE V.—Page 152.

System of the Jesuits in Paraguay.

THE following sketch of the system adopted by the Jesuits in Paraguay, is taken from the *Lettres Edifiantes*, vols. viii. and ix.

The first object of these missionaries was to withdraw the natives from their wandering mode of life, "and make them reasonable creatures before attempting to make them Christians." For this purpose they followed them into their vast forests, and, as soon as, by their preaching and example, they had obtained sufficient influence over them, they induced

them to fix in settlements where they might be subjected to Christian instruction and discipline.¹

Usually, *two* missionaries were sent out together, accompanied by several neophytes. If after hearing their preaching, the natives expressed a desire to become Christians, the infants were baptized at once, the adults invited to the settlements for previous instruction.² Here they were affectionately received and lodged; and these converted natives became, in their turn, active agents in inducing others of their fellow-countrymen to join them.³

Plan of Settlements or Reductions.

A supply of cattle, food, utensils, and seeds, sufficient for immediate use, also a few workmen to give instruction, were procured from the neighbouring Spanish towns.⁴ A certain portion of land, thirty or forty leagues in circumference, according to the number of settlers, was marked out for each Reduction.⁵ As soon as one was full, another was formed, to the support of which the earlier ones contributed. A church and mission-house were the first buildings raised; these were placed in a central position, and the streets were arranged in parallel lines, so as to be easily overlooked from the mission-house.⁶

The ground produced three harvests, of which the first was allotted to the natives; the second laid up for the widows, orphans, and poor, and for charity beyond the mission; the third was assigned to the missionaries, and the maintenance of the church, church-offices, choir, &c.⁷ Three Jesuit brothers superintended the temporal concerns of the settlement: one acted as physician, tending the sick and preparing medicines; the two others managed the distribution of the food. After harvest, the corn was all laid by in public granaries, and delivered out once a month to the chiefs of the districts or quarters into which the Reduction was divided, these again distributed it among the families of the district according to the numbers in each; meat was distributed in the same manner daily.⁸ In

¹ Vol. viii. 391, 392. ² Vol. ix. pp. 62, 74, 124.

³ Vol. viii. p. 392.

⁴ Vol. viii. p. 392.

⁵ Vol. viii. p. 393.

⁶ Vol. ix. p. 386.

⁷ Vol. ix. pp. 205, 206. ⁸ Vol. viii. pp. 397—399.

order to maintain discipline, an Elder was appointed to watch the conduct of the adults, and their regularity in attending the church services ; and a subordinate one was placed over the children.¹ No spirituous liquors or games of chance were permitted.²

Mode of Instruction.

Two missionaries were placed in each Reduction; one to remain stationary, the other to go out and make converts in the vicinity.³

At break of day, the church bell was sounded to summon the people to morning prayer ; this was followed by the celebration of mass, after which they retired to their several occupations, and reassembled at sunset, when the evening prayer was followed by the recital of the Chaplet.

All the children between seven or eight and twelve years of age were required to attend schools, where the boys were instructed in reading and writing, the Catechism, the prayers of the Church, and the duties of Christianity. The girls learned reading, the prayers and Catechism, knitting, sewing, and other work suited to their sex. At eight o'clock in the morning they were all taken to church for morning prayer and catechizing, and to hear mass ; after which they returned to the schools. During Advent and Lent, there was public catechizing, twice a week in the church, and as this could not contain all the population, three or four missionaries were sent, accompanied by a troop of children, three times a week, to recite the Catechism in different quarters of the Reduction ; it was followed by an "act of contrition."

On Sundays and festivals, high-mass was performed three times, at six, seven, and nine, in the morning ; each mass was accompanied by preaching.

In addition to this system of polity, which resembled that of a large family, it appears that certain fraternities, of the Scapulary, the Rosary, and the Holy Sacrament, were established among the inhabitants for religious purposes.⁴ These associations, however, seem nothing peculiar to the mission,

¹ Vol. viii. pp. 388, 389.

² Vol. ix. p. 226.

³ Vol. ix. p. 68.

⁴ Vol. viii. p. 384—386.

but to resemble the various fraternities existing among Roman Catholics in Europe ; doubtless they were not without effect in fixing the volatile minds of the half-educated converts, to which also the pompous and superstitious ceremonies, not sparingly used, may have likewise tended ; but the services connected with them were mixed up with grievous superstition, if not idolatry.

No. XXIII.

LECTURE V.—Page 155.

Proceedings of Roman Catholic Missionaries on the Coast of Africa.

“ THE missionaries on their way found the roads thronged with persons coming to be baptized. Whole villages flocked to them at once, so that they were often obliged to spend days on the road, for the purpose of admitting these numerous converts within the pale of the Church. At length they arrived at Congo Battu, the largest town in the province, and the theatre of a considerable trade. Here, too, they found their ministrations in such request, that they could scarcely find time for sleep or food. After nearly the whole city and neighbourhood had been baptized, they made a somewhat mortifying discovery. One part of the ceremony, according to the Romish ritual, consists in placing salt upon the mouth ; which circumstance, as salt is here scarce, and an object of luxury, probably aided the alacrity with which the natives came to be baptized. As the fathers acquired a knowledge of the language, they discovered that the sole idea that the natives attached to the rite, was the eating of this small quantity of salt. *Curia mangua*, “ to eat salt,” was, in their language, the term for being baptized ; nor did the efforts to change either their language or their ideas upon the subject prove very successful.”
—Murray’s Discoveries in Africa, pp. 80, 81.

No. XXIV.

LECTURE V.—Page 157.

The Bishop of Australia's Protest; and Remarks on Papal Intrusion into Colonial Dioceses of the Church of England.

“**In the name of God. Amen.** By this public Instrument be it declared and made known to all, that in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-three, according to the course and reckoning of the Church of England, on Saturday, the twenty-fifth of March, being the festival of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at or near the hour of eleven in the forenoon, before the commencement of the morning service for the day, in the Vestry adjoining and pertaining to the Church of St. James the Apostle, in the city of Sydney, and colony of New South Wales, in the presence of me, James Norton, Notary Public, and Registrar of the Diocese of Australia, lawfully constituted according to Letters Patent of his late Majesty King William the Fourth, and in presence also of the witnesses whose names are hereinafter recited, the Right Reverend Father in God, William Grant, by divine permission Bishop of Australia, did personally put in and exhibit a certain written protest, and did then and there openly and publicly protest, and otherwise also did profess and do in such manner and according as was more fully contained in a certain parchment schedule which he held in his hands, and publicly read : of which schedule the purport is here inserted, and is as follows without any addition or omission whatever.

“**‘In the name of God. Amen.** *We William Grant, by Divine permission Bishop and Pastor of Australia, do Protest publicly and explicitly, on behalf of ourselves and our successors, Bishops of Australia, and on behalf of the clergy and all the faithful of the same Church and Diocese, and also on behalf of William by Divine providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, and his successors, that the Bishop of Rome has not any right or authority according to the laws of God, and the canonical Order of the Church, to institute any episcopal or archiepiscopal*

See or Sees within the limits of the Diocese of Australia and Province of Canterbury aforesaid. And We do hereby publicly, explicitly and deliberately protest against, dissent from, and contradict, any and every act of episcopal or metropolitan authority done or to be done, at any time, or by any person whatever, by virtue of any right or title derived from any assumed jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority of the said Bishop of Rome enabling him to institute any episcopal See or Sees within the Diocese and Province hereinbefore named.

“ All and singular the foregoing acts and declarations were had and done as they are above written and recited in the year, month, day, hour, and place aforesaid ; there being then and there present, (having been specially invited and summoned as witnesses in the premises,) the Rev. Robert Allwood, the Rev. Henry Hodgkinson Bobart, the Rev. William Branwhite Clarke, the Rev. Thomas Steele, the Rev. Henry Tarlton Stiles, and the Rev. William Horatio Walsh.

[L. S.]

(Signed)

“ JAMES NORTON,

“ Registrar, and Notary Public.”

Nor has the schismatic tendency of the Church of Rome, evinced in this case of Australia, ceased here. More recently, as is remarked in the text, a Bishop has been sent by the Pope to Hobart Town, subsequently to the appointment of the Bishop of Tasmania. A more glaring and pointed instance of the same aggressive temper has been exhibited in Upper Canada. Toronto has been now, for some years, erected into a See of the Church of England, and the present Bishop was consecrated in 1839. At this time, and in 1843 (as appears by the Catholic Directory), there was a Roman Catholic Bishop of *Kingstown*, with a Coadjutor. Recently, however, on the death of the Bishop of Kingstown, M. Power has been appointed *Bishop of Toronto*, by which all ecclesiastical rule and unity are set at defiance.

It may not be out of place to contrast with acts such as these the rule and practice of antiquity ; and for this purpose I transcribe the following passage from Bingham, (Antiq. book ii. chap. xiii. sect. 1.) “ Another rule generally observed by the Church, was, that in one city there should be but one Bishop, though it was

large enough to admit of many presbyters." . . . "When Novatian got himself ordained bishop of Rome, in opposition to Cornelius, he was generally condemned, over the whole world, *as transgressing the rule of the Catholic Church*. Cyprian¹ delivers it as a maxim on this occasion, 'That there ought to be but one bishop in a church at a time, and one judge as the vicerent of Christ.' 'Therefore,' he says,² 'Novatian was no bishop, since there could not be a second after the first; but he was an adulterer, and a foreigner, and an ambitious usurper of another man's church, who had been regularly ordained before him.' And so he was told not only by Cyprian,³ but a whole African council at once; who, in return to Novatian's communicatory letter, which (according to custom) he wrote to them upon his ordination, sent him this plain and positive answer: 'That he was an alien, and that none of them could communicate with him, who had attempted to erect a profane altar against Cornelius the true bishop.'

In confirmation of this rule and practice of antiquity, in the following ages, Bingham refers to Chrysostom, Jerome, Pseudo-Hieron., Hilary, Pacian, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret; and adds, that "the Council of Nice repeats and confirms this ancient rule: for, in the eighth canon, which speaks of the Novatian bishops that return to the Catholic Church, it is said that any bishop may admit them to officiate as presbyters in the city, or as *chorepiscopi* in the country, but not as city bishops, for this reason, *ὥρα μὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐνὸ ἐπίσκοποι ὦσι*."

The violation, then, of ecclesiastical order in the facts mentioned, proves too clearly the justice of the Bishop of Australia's remarks, in a communication which he has recently sent home, and which lead one to perceive that the Colonies will soon become a battle-field, where the contest with the revived and usurping spirit of Rome will have to be fought. Noticing his recent Protest, the Bishop remarks: "It is not necessary that I should enter into any extended observations upon those

¹ Cypr. Epist. 55, al. 59, ad Cornel. p. 129.

² Ibid. Epist. 52, al. 55, ad Antonian. p. 104. "Cum post primum secundus esse non possit, quisquis post unum, qui solus esse debeat, factus est, nonjam secundus ille, sed nullus est."

³ Ibid. Ep. 67, al. 68, ad Steph. p. 177.

documents, which will speak for themselves. The effect on the mind of our fellow-churchmen has been decidedly beneficial: and I trust will still work for good in keeping their thoughts fixed upon the question, and leading them to inquire and reflect. The efforts making by the Roman Catholics *are scarcely to be conceived by those at a distance*; and there is much going on which is not meant immediately to meet the public notice. Dr. Polding introduced eight or ten additional priests, on his return from Europe: some of them Irish, others foreigners; and his resources are very great. I am not in any degree shaken in my confidence as to our own cause; but in means of action I labour under very serious deficiencies."

In another letter, dated May 17, 1843, he says: "Whatever the final result may be, I trust that the position which I have taken is that which becomes the Church of England, and will always furnish a point for us to fall back upon in that extended contest which all the signs of the times foreshow is about to arise in this colony between our Church and that of Rome."

A further instance of the antagonism shown by the Roman Catholics in the colonies to the Church of England, is mentioned in a letter from a gentleman in New Zealand, and who is in a position to have personal knowledge of the fact related. "Another point," he writes, "which they have taken up in a much more unscrupulous manner, is the collection at the offertory, which the Bishop has introduced. They represent it as selling the Sacrament; a remarkable instance of Jesuitical versatility, when we think how they extract the last half-crown out of the poor people in Ireland. But here it is quite a free-will offering; no one is forced to give; it is not made a condition of communicating; and as the Bishop feels his position such a right one, he will persevere through good report and evil report."

No. XXV.

LECTURE V.—Page 163.

On the Practices of Robert de Nobili, at Madura.

THE passage, in which Mosheim states the facts mentioned in the text, is as follows (vol. ii. London, 1838, p. 254, note):—“Nobili, who was looked upon by the Jesuits as the chief apostle of the Indians after François Xavier, took incredible pains to acquire a knowledge of the religion, customs, and language of Madura, sufficient for the purposes of his ministry. But this was not all; for, to stop the mouths of his opposers, and particularly of those who treated his character of Brachman as an imposture, he produced an old, dirty parchment, in which he had forged, in the ancient Indian characters, a deed, showing that the Brachmans of Rome were of much older date than those of India, and that the Jesuits of Rome descended in a direct line from the god Brama. Nay, Father Jouvenci, a learned Jesuit, tells us, in the History of his Order, something yet more remarkable; even that Robert de Nobili, when the authenticity of his smoky parchment was called in question by some Indian unbelievers, declared upon oath, before the assembly of Brachmans of Madura, that he (Nobili) derived really and truly his origin from the god Brama. Is it not astonishing that this reverend Father should acknowledge, is it not monstrous that he should applaud, as a piece of pious ingenuity, this detestable instance of perjury and fraud? See Jouvenci, *Histoire des Jésuites*; Norbert, *Mémoires Historiques sur les Missions des Malab.* tom. ii. p. 145.”

In respect to the forged composition entitled the *Ezour-Vedam*, a long dissertation on the subject may be found in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xiv. pp. 1—55, by Mr. Ellis. It appears that the existence of this writing was discovered by Sir Alexander Johnson, the chief justice of the island of Ceylon, who had “received a commission to draw up a code of laws for the natives, and therefore was anxious to consult the best Indian works.” A printed copy of the *Ezour-Vedam* was sent by him

to Mr. Ellis, which led to the inquiries made by the latter into the genuineness of the composition. A French translation of the work was printed at Paris, in 1778; it was said, by Voltaire, to have been made by the "grand priest of the island of Cheringham, in the province of Arcot." Voltaire himself, as well as M. Anquetil du Perron, who was possessed of a profound knowledge of India, its language, and religion, considered the writing to be an authentic work, a Commentary on the Vedam. Mr. Ellis accurately examined the document, and the result is given in his Dissertation, in which he attributes the composition of the Ezour-Vedam, and the other Pseudo-Vedas, to Robert de Nobili. The point of view in which he regarded the former writing, at least, may be learnt from the manner in which he commences his Treatise, remarking that he is about "to give an account of an instance of literary forgery, or rather—as the object of the author or authors was certainly not literary distinction—of religious imposition, without parallel."

I do not find it stated in what light this composition was intended to be viewed by Hindoos. The fact however of such a title being assigned to the fabrication,—the intermixture of some Vedantic fables with the argument contained in it,—the translation from the Sanscrit being attributed to a Braman, "le grand prêtre de l'isle de Cheringham,"—afford conclusive evidence that it was designed for the reception of the Hindoos, as of the same authority, and from the same source, as their four Vedas. Mr. Hough says, that the forgery did impose on some Brahmins, and for many years was received as an authentic work. Yet it is clear that the object of it was to recommend Christianity; so that, probably, the representation of it, in the text, as "the Christians' Veda," will describe the intention of those who composed it;—and thus it forms a part of that unscrupulous system of deception, which Robert de Nobili and his companions practised, in representing themselves and their Veda as of Brahmanic origin;—with what kind of success the result may inform us.

It has been already stated that Voltaire considered the work as genuine, and, in the language of Dr. Wiseman, (*Lectures on Science and Revealed Religion*, p. 408, London, 1842,) "he pounced upon it, as a proof that the doctrines of Christianity were borrowed from the heathens; and pronounced it a work of

immense antiquity." The use which the latter writer proceeds to make of this fact is strange. After recounting the discovery of the real authorship by Mr. Ellis, he adduces the circumstance as one among many instances of the way in which the advance of modern science has tended to remove the objections against Christianity. This is, indeed, profiting by one's own wrong :—it required considerable hardihood, in a Roman Catholic Apologist, even to refer to the detection of this religious imposition, but still more to convert it into an evidence for the truth of Christianity.

No. XXVI.

LECTURE V.—Page 163.

The Conduct of the General of the Order of Jesuits in reference to the Chinese Rites.

It appears that a piece of duplicity parallel to that of Lainez in India was exhibited by Tamburini, the General of the Jesuits, in reference to the Bull of Clement XI., which condemned the Chinese rites recognised by the Jesuit missionaries. The following circumstance is related in the *Histoire générale de la Naissance et des Progrès de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. iii. p. 45 :—

"Clement XI. ayant rendu, le premier Octobre, 1710, un décret¹ confirmatif de la Bulle de 1704 sur les cérémonies de la Chine, et du mandement que le Cardinal de Tournon avoit donné pour l'exécution de cette Bulle, l'assesseur intima ce nouveau décret aux généraux d'ordres dont les sujets étoient employés dans les missions. Tamburini, général des Jésuites, fit réponse, qu'il alloit faire tout son possible pour que les ordres du Pape fussent *exécutés avec ponctualité*. L'année suivante, les procureurs des provinces de la société étans

¹ On trouve ce décret, la lettre de l'assesseur aux généraux d'ordres, et leur réponse, par laquelle ils s'engagent à la faire examiner, à la fin des Mémoires de MM. des Missions étrangères.

assemblés à Rome, il fut arrêté entre eux, que, pour fermer la bouche à ceux qui noircissoient la société, et la calomnioient, le général présenteroit au Pape une déclaration¹ des plus claires sur cet objet. Il la présenta, signée de lui, de ses quatre assistans, et des vingt-trois procureurs; et il faut convenir qu'on ne peut concevoir de protestation plus formelle de se soumettre aux décrets de Clement XI. sur les cérémonies Chinoises² *sans aucune contradiction, tergiversation, délai, &c.* Et cependant dans le même tems le Général Tamburini écrivoit au P. Grimaldi, visiteur des PP. Jésuites à la Chine, et un des plus furieux persécuteurs du Cardinal de Tournon, de prendre un nouveau courage et de se ranimer dans la vieillesse pour défendre les rits Chinois; que le nouveau décret du Pape les favorise."

No. XXVII.

LECTURE V.—Page 165.

On the Haste, and absence of preparatory Fitness with which Baptism was administered by Roman Catholic Missionaries.

THE following passages, on this point, occur in Jos. Acosta, De Promulgatione Evangelii apud Barbaros :—

"Quis vero non doleat baptismo plerosque adultos initio passim, et nostro tempore non rarò antè perfundi, quàm Christianam catechesin vel mediocriter teneant; neque an vitæ flagitiosæ et superstitiosæ penitentiâ tangantur, neque verò

¹ Cette déclaration fut d'abord imprimée par ordre de la Société, ensuite elle reparut en 1712, avec des observations qui sont aussi réimprimées à la fin du sixième volume des *Anecdotes sur la Chine*. On la trouve, mais sans ces observations, dans les *Réflexions d'un Portugais sur le mémorial du général qui ont paru en 1758*, p. 291 et suiv.

² On trouve à la tête du sixième volume des *Anecdotes sur la Chine*, une autre déclaration, ou Mémorial, que le même général présenta à Innocent XIII. en 1724, et les *Réflexions* sur ce Mémorial faites par un missionnaire pour en relever les fourberies.

id ipsum quod accipiant an velint accipere, satis constet?"—
Lib. vi. cap. ii. p. 520.

Again, "Quam ecclesiæ veterem disciplinam," (viz. candidates coming to baptism duly prepared,) "ita in hoc novo orbe neglectam intuemur, ut nusquam contra evangelii dignitatem magis irreligiøsè et contrà hominum salutem magis perniciosè peccatum esse intelligamus. Dum enim quoquo modo, per fas et nefas, per dolum et vim, gentes barbaras Christianas efficere properant homines imperiti aut improbi, nihil aliud agunt, quàm ut evangelium ludibrio exponant, et fidei temerè susceptæ desertores certissimo exitio afficiant. Quam quæstionem" (viz. as to the validity of baptism thus administered) "ne quis otiosam putet, sciat apud nos esse frequentem in iis, præsertim Æthiopibus servis, qui ex Cabonerbe asportantur. Hos enim si convenias an Christiani jam sint, audies non rarò, sese, cùm essent impuberes, simul cùm aliis pluribus in navi aut littore deprehensos baptizatos esse, cùm certè, quid secum ageretur, ignorarent, nisi quod multi simul à clerico aut milite quopiam, aquâ aspergebantur, et exinde Christianos se fieri audiebant."—Lib. vi. cap. iii. pp. 522-3.

No. XXVIII.

LECTURE V.—Page 175.

Method of conducting Religious Service with his Neophytes adopted by Fr. Xavier.

It may be interesting to see how this surprising missionary adapted himself to those with whom he had to do; and, therefore, the following passage, describing his proceedings on a Sunday, is translated from one of his letters (xiv.), to indicate the *method* which he pursued:—

"On Sunday I collected in the church the men and women, with the boys and girls: all cheerfully came, all animated equally with a desire of receiving instruction. I then

commenced, in the name of the blessed Trinity, by reciting, in a clear and audible voice, and in the Malay tongue, the Lord's Prayer, the Salutation of the Angel, and the Apostles' Creed. All repeated these after me, and found great pleasure in it. I repeated once again the Creed by myself, and dwelt upon each article separately ; I then demanded of all the people individually whether they unhesitatingly believed all that their lips had just pronounced, when each crossing his hands on his breast replied in the affirmative.

" After the explanation of the Creed, I turn to the Decalogue, in order to show them that the whole Christian law is contained in these ten commandments, which all are bound punctually to obey. . . . The astonishment, both of the neophytes and the pagans, is great when they perceive the sanctity of the Christian law, and its perfect conformity with reason. I next repeat with them the Pater and the Ave, and after each article of the Creed, set in verse, we begin again the Pater and Ave. After having sung the first article of faith, I give out in the language of the country this canticle: 'Jesus, Son of the living God, cause that we may believe perfectly this first article of our faith ; to obtain which grace we offer to thee this prayer, which thou thyself hast taught us.'

" After the second article we sing another canticle : ' Holy Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, obtain for us from thy dear Son the grace to believe this article of faith without doubting.' In this manner we pass in review all the articles of the Creed.

" To inculcate the Decalogue, this is my method : We sing, as before, the first commandment, ' Thou shalt love one God alone,' &c., and then make this prayer, ' Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, grant that we may love thee above all things ! ' We immediately add the Lord's Prayer ; then sing altogether a couplet out of a canticle thus arranged : ' Holy Mary, mother of Jesus Christ, obtain for us of thy Son that we may carefully observe this first commandment.' This couplet, sung thus, is followed by the angelic salutation. This is the order we pursue with each of the commandments, intercalating them with various canticles. This is what I accustom them to ask of God, and then I make them understand that when they shall

have obtained all these graces from heaven, they will obtain, also, all other things more freely than they can ask them.

“I require all the catechumens preparing for baptism to repeat the form of general confession, both together and singly. It is of these that I most particularly demand after each article of the Creed whether they believe it firmly. On their reply in the affirmative, it is my custom to address to them a discourse in the Malay tongue, in which I set before them briefly the chief points of Christian doctrine necessary for salvation. It is after having thus prepared them, that I confer on them the sacrament of baptism. I conclude my instructions by the *Salve Regina*, to obtain the aid and protection of the Holy Virgin.”

This course of instruction and devotional exercise was probably in addition to a more solemn and fixed office to be used with the baptized : but it would seem that such a *method* of religious service, based upon a purer faith than is here exhibited, might be calculated to arrest the attention of heathen converts, and by the intermixture of instruction and devotion, might lead them to “pray with the spirit” and “with the understanding” also.

No. XXIX.

LECTURE V.—Page 179.

Japanese Children trained to suffering for the Faith.

“Now the Japanners harden their children against a cruel death, not with instructing them in the Gospel, but by terrifying them with unusual cruelties ; which Hazart witnesseth, relating, that Johannes Catonneme, a nobleman in the kingdom of Deva, had a son aged seven years, whom he daily instructed to be constant. I will set down Hazart’s own words concerning it. A little before Catonneme was taken prisoner, he said to his son, ‘If it were so that you saw the executioners coming, would you suffer yourself to be burnt alive, or deny your Faith?’ Whereupon the child asked, ‘Father, what

would you do?' To which he replied, 'I would suffer myself to be burned.' Whereon the youth again made answer, 'So will I too.' Then said his father, 'Come hither, I am resolved to try if you will be as constant as you say: take and hold this coal in your hand, till I command you to throw it away.' The child immediately opening his hand, the father laid a glowing coal in the same. The youth held it fast, without showing any concern thereat, notwithstanding his hand was burnt to the bone, yet he threw it not away till his father gave order. When they asked him, if the fire had not hurt him, he made answer, 'Any one that is ready to burn alive as I am, must not make any scruple to hold a burning coal in their hand, for so short a time as I have done.' And who can find more of the aged Japanners, in any observation kept by the Jesuits themselves, that they either said or did more, whilst they were under the executioner's hands, than to hold a crucifix, and the picture of the Virgin Mary, repeating the usual prayer,—'Jesus Maria?' " *Atlas Japannensis*, by Arnoldus Montanus, p. 263.

No. XXX.

LECTURE VI.—Page 187.

Missionary Scheme projected by Cromwell.

"STOUPÉ told me of a great design Cromwell had intended to begin his kingship with, if he had assumed it; he resolved to set up a council for the Protestant religion, in opposition to the congregation *De propaganda Fide* at Rome. He intended it should consist of seven counsellors, and four secretaries for different provinces. These were, the first, France, Switzerland, and the Valleys; the Palatinate and the other Calvinists were the second; Germany, the north, and Turkey were the third; and the East and West Indies were the fourth. The secretaries were to have 500*l.* salary apiece, and to keep a correspondence everywhere, to know the state of religion all over the world, that so all good designs might be by their means

protected and assisted. Stoupe was to have the first province. They were to have a fund of 10,000*l.* a year, at their disposal for ordinary emergencies, but to be farther supplied as occasions should require it. Chelsea college was to be made up for them, which was then an old decayed building, that had been at first raised to be a college, for writers of controversy. I thought it was not fit to let such a project as this be quite lost ; it was certainly a noble one : but how far he would have pursued it, must be left to conjecture." Burnet's Hist. of His own Times, vol. i. p. 132.

No. XXXI.

LECTURE VI.—Page 195.

The Statement of Bishop Heber respecting the Protestant Missions in Southern India, in 1826.

THE words which Bishop Heber used in 1826, and which are quoted by Dr. Wiseman, are these:—"The number is gradually increasing, and there are now, in the South of India, about two hundred protestant congregations, the number of which has been sometimes vaguely stated at 40,000. I doubt whether they reach 15,000 ; but even this, all things considered, is certainly a great number." (Journal, vol. iii. p. 460.) Dr. Wiseman's comment upon the passage is, "And certainly it is a great number, and, I have no hesitation in saying, very much too great ; as I shall at once proceed to show you." (Lect. vi. p. 175.) To fulfil this announcement, he refers to the missions founded by Schwartz, as if the Bishop were speaking of these alone, whereas he *did* speak of "the South of India." Within this sphere of operation, he then selects three facts : viz. that the Bishop confirmed fifty natives at Tanjore, and eleven at Trichinopoly ; and that, in a set of villages *which formed but "one circle" in the Tanjore mission*, the number of Christians returned in 1823, was 1328. "So that," adds Dr. Wiseman, "the number first stated at forty thousand, then at fifteen thousand, is, by the report of the missionaries them-

selves, reduced to thirteen hundred and twenty-eight !” Thus, then, though Bishop Heber spoke of the Protestant Christians in the whole of Southern India, Dr. Wiseman attempts to refute his calculation by computing the number of Christians in two missions only,—and then limits his computation to *one circle only in one of these missions*. And so, by this process, and by adducing three insulated facts, he has “no hesitation in saying,” that Bishop Heber’s computation was “very much too great.”

This is an instance of the fairness with which the missions of the Church of England and other Protestants are examined.—Now what is the state of the case ?

It may perhaps be urged that this able writer was unable to discover any other traces of converts in connexion with these Indian missions. And in reply, I observe, that in the *very same page* of his Journal in which Bishop Heber mentions the fact of his confirming the natives alluded to, at Tanjore, he adds, that he “pronounced the benediction on above 1300 natives” on the evening of Easter-day. “This however,” he subjoins, “is *only in the city of Tanjore*. There are scattered congregations, to the number of *many thousand Protestant Christians*, in all the neighbouring cities and villages ; and the wicker-bound graves, each distinguished by a little cross of cane, of the poor people by the road side, are enough to tell even the most careless traveller, that the country is, in a great measure, Christian.” It is hardly possible to conceive that Dr. Wiseman had not read this.

So here there were *several thousand* Christians, besides the 1300 in the city of Tanjore, in this one mission. But besides, I find that, in this same year, 1826, in one village congregation, in the Tinnevely mission, ninety-nine natives were baptized by a native priest, named Nanapragasam.¹ Further, in 1824, official statements were sent in to Archdeacon Robinson, (an account of which he has kindly furnished me with) of the several missions of the S.P.G. which give the number of converts, in charge of that Society alone, at about 8260. Even at an earlier period than this, in 1820, a similar return was

¹ Madras Committee Report, p. 302, to the S.P.C.K.

made of the missions conducted by the C.M.S.; and in one of these missions, at Tinnevely, the converts were stated at 7500; and there were other stations which might have been added.

Here then, again, without adducing more, returns, not embracing the whole even of the Church of England missions, present a number above the calculation of Bishop Heber. And it is to be observed that in the very same Report of the S.P.C.K. (for 1825), from which Dr. Wiseman extracted the partial statement of Mr. Kohloff, it is said that "the congregations of native Christians in the neighbourhood of Madras," (probably including the whole Southern district,) were "estimated upon good authority at 20,000 souls."¹ This surely might have led to at least a more candid inquiry.—Lastly, however, in reference to this point, Mr. Hough, in his Evidence before the House of Commons, in 1832, stated that he had "had occasion about eight years previous (1824), to calculate the number of converts made by the different Protestant missionaries in India; they then amounted, as near as I can calculate the number, to 23,000."

I have only to observe, further, that Bishop Heber, in his moderate computation of 15,000, included not only the whole southern district of India, as I have stated, but also, probably, the converts of all Protestant bodies; so that, if these were added to the numbers I have already given, his calculation might have been put considerably higher.

No. XXXII.

LECTURE VI.—Page 202.

On the Declension of the early Anglo-American Missions.

ELLIOT commenced his mission to the Indians, in the neighbourhood of Boston, in 1646; in 1674, "the number of towns inhabited by praying Indians, as they were called, had increased to no fewer than fourteen, to all of which Mr. Elliot appears, in

¹ Report of S.P.C.K. 1825, pp. 46, 47.

a greater or less degree, to have extended his labours."¹ He died in 1690, and thirty years after his death, in 1721, "the Church formed by him was totally extinct."² David Brainerd entered on his labours, as missionary to the Indians in New Jersey, in 1743; he died in 1747, and was succeeded by his brother, John Brainerd. Yet, notwithstanding this, in 1774 (twenty-seven years after his death), the latter complained to Mr. Rankin, that the converts had sadly declined, "that some were dead; others had grown careless and lukewarm; and many had wandered back among their pagan countrymen, several of whom had even returned to their idolatrous practices. Some also had yielded to the love of spirituous liquors, from which they seemed once completely weaned. Thus, 'the gold had become dim, and the most fine gold was changed.'"³ It is added, that, though this picture may be overcharged, yet "his representation was by no means without foundation." In 1766, Mr. Kirkland proceeded as missionary to the Oneida Indians; and the account given of his mission in 1785 is very cheerful; a real seriousness in many, and a remarkable reformation of manners is described.⁴ "But this fair prospect," it is added, "was afterwards overcast; religion declined among them, and even sunk to a very low ebb."⁵ In 1796, Dr. Morse and Belknap were sent to inquire into the state of the mission, when they reported that the race had been corrupted by intermarriage with European settlers, and, "that the greater part of them appeared to have nothing of Christianity but the name."⁶ The case was the same with the missions tended by the Mayhews.⁷ In some of the cases mentioned, the declension of the missions is to be attributed in part to the intermixture of the natives with settlers; yet it is equally clear that the relapse into their former habits, on the removal of the zealous missionaries who first converted them to Christianity, proves the inadequacy of enterprises conducted merely by individuals, apart from such a divinely-ordered system as is provided in the Church, to transmit the benefit they first impart, and secure perpetuity in the work of converting the heathen.

¹ Brown's Missions, vol. i. p. 44.² Ibid. p. 48.³ Ibid. p. 136.⁴ Ibid. p. 147.⁵ Ibid. p. 148.⁶ Ibid.⁷ Ibid. pp. 60, 61.

No. XXXIII.

LECTURE VI.—Page 211.

The Church in New Zealand.

THE interest felt in behalf of the rising Church in New Zealand, and the prospects which are opening of its being established firmly under the auspices of the Bishop of that diocese, make me very thankful to be able to state some of those wise and comprehensive principles upon which the Bishop proposes to lay the foundation of the Church system. They are extracted partly from some of his private letters, which I have been allowed, by the kindness of one of his friends, to refer to, and partly from the letters of others.

Hitherto, the several Clergy supported by the Church Missionary Society have been located in different parts of the island with Catechists, but under no general system or direction ; and it appears that the executive, and frequently the legislative, duties of the mission have been entrusted to four Committees, in which Catechists had an equal vote with the Clergy, and outnumbered them. The inconveniences which began to be felt from such a system, in which nothing like the true constitution of the Church was visible, made the more reflecting among the missionaries hail with thankfulness the appointment of a lawful head to the flock of Christ.

The following are some of the plans which are laid down by the prelate, to whose wise administration that portion of Christ's Church has been committed :—

I. He purposes to keep himself free from any political connexion with the state. His words are: " I have no political connexion with the state. I am not, and never intend to be, a member of the Council ; a post which I never desired, and now see the strongest reasons for determining studiously to avoid. The power of creating Archdeacons will enable me to have a responsible adviser at each principal town, to whom I shall be able to give such assistance as my periodical visits will allow. I have already begun upon the plan which I wish to pursue, by establishing the practice of collecting at the

offertory from the whole congregation for Church purposes, to form a fund for the extension of the Church, to be under the direction of myself, the Archdeacon of the district, the Clergymen of the parishes, and laymen associated with them on my appointment."

"This plan is the more necessary, because I have thought it my duty to decline accepting assistance from the State here, upon the terms of its Church Act, which is a copy of the New South Wales Act, and professes only to give its assistance to the Church as one of the many denominations of Christians : at the same time hampering the churches so assisted with a Board of Trustees, and other unecclesiastical machinery, which has already been proved injurious to the Church in Sydney, by the trusts devolving upon persons indifferent or hostile to its interests. I have therefore felt obliged to assume a position of entire independence, offering to buy whatever land might be required for the Church, rather than submit to restrictions of which I cannot approve : one good effect of which has already appeared in the appropriation of burial-grounds. I have obtained a conveyance of two grounds of eight acres each, to be consecrated for the burial of the dead, according to the usage of the Church of England, vested in myself as trustee, instead of being mixed up with a general 'protestant' cemetery for all denominations. Other sects will now have their own grounds to provide as they please."

II. Institutions for the protection and improvement of the natives.

The protection of the natives has been entrusted to trustees, of which the Bishop is one ; and the plans proposed for the benefit of the natives, either visiting or residing in the towns, are as follows :—

1. To build in every town an hostelry for the natives who come to trade, on a plan similar to an alms-house in England, with a small chapel for their daily worship, and convenient boxes and cupboards for their goods. In time, we may have a Clergyman to live in the midst of them. At present the poor creatures are encamped, with nothing but a bit of canvass to shelter them from the rain and wind.

2. To found, at a convenient distance from the chief tribes,

a boarding-school, upon the general plan of the Norwood Institution, where religious instruction, and all good and useful arts and habits, may be taught from the earliest age. The children to be fed, taught, and clothed from the produce of the native reserves, and afterwards put out into life, according to their abilities and bent of mind."

Again, the Bishop says in reference to this subject, "We are on the point of forming native institutions, comprising all the requisites for a large boarding-school, for scholars of all ages, infants' school, boys and girls' school, workshops, dormitories, hall and chapel; also a hospital for adult natives, a dwelling for a clerical superintendent, and accommodation for assistants."

"We shall be called upon immediately," he says in another place, "to form institutions for the effectual training of the native children from the earliest childhood: that they may become habituated from the first to English customs, learn the English language, and be instructed as well in the principles of true religion, as in all the useful arts, which may fit them to take their place among the English settlers, without distinction of persons. It is such an opening as has never before been granted to the leaders of any new colony."

Such institutions as these seem exactly in accordance with those which the Church always fostered for the Christianizing of the pagan population, not merely in the more barbarous times of the later empire, but in the earlier days of Christianity; and have all the advantage of the Jesuit Reductions in Paraguay, without the grievous ill which arose from the too exclusive and almost scholastic control by which they were regulated, and which left the natives in the end only as children.

III. A Collegiate Institution, to comprise a seminary of a higher order for the candidates for Holy Orders, and a school for younger pupils. It is proposed to conduct it on a cenobitic plan; the whole community to dine together in one hall, with the Bishop at their head; which, among other advantages, will enable him to entertain strangers, which could never be adequately done in a private establishment.

IV. Collegiate parsonages in various parts of the diocese, for the residence of an Archdeacon, Priest, and Deacon, within the same precincts.

Since the above was written, the Bishop has carried several of his plans into execution: the College, and the Collegiate School, have been opened; and his unwearied apostolic labours are producing a visible effect, as is witnessed in the following sentence from the letter of Mr. Spencer, an American, and a student for Holy Orders at the Waimate College:—"The public confidence which the Bishop enjoys is almost incredible. His sterling principles bear down all other authority, and he is looked upon as a man calculated to establish an order of things in these islands, which will promote the greatest political and moral good."

NO. XXXIV.

LECTURE VI.—Page 221.

Table of several Missionary Stations in India.

IN reference to the subjoined Table, it is to be observed that it is not given as representing the whole results of missionary labours in India; on the contrary, some stations are omitted, and it is clear that, in several of those mentioned, the returns are evidently defective. In some, *e. g.* a number of *communicants* is set down, but no *baptized*. It may be well to say, that, in these cases, the number of communicants has been taken for that of the baptized, in the result of the table given in the text. The numbers set down under the head of "hearers" have not been included, for it is clearly impossible to guess in what religious state these may be supposed to be, and can afford no criterion of conversion as thus stated. But though the table is by no means understood as being complete, still the result presented by it, as far as it goes, affords confirmation, of a striking character, to the argument advanced in the text. It occurs at p. 237 of the Rev. Baptist Noel's Essay.

NORTH INDIA.

Society.	Station.	Communi- cants.	Baptized.	Hearers.
Baptist	Calcutta . .	24	—	—
Church Missionary .	Calcutta . .	—	476	—
Soc. Prop. Gospel . .	Tallygunge . .	80	200	700
Soc. Prop. Gospel . .	Jangera . .	—	29	—
Soc. Prop. Gospel . .	Barhipûr . .	—	20	—
Baptist	Seebpore . .	54	—	—
Baptist	Cutwa . . .	35	110	—
Baptist	Monghyr . .	—	10	—
Church Missionary .	Burdwan . .	—	—	—
Church Missionary .	Buxar . . .	—	—	25
Church Missionary .	Benares . .	12	—	—
London Missionary .	Benares . .	18	36	—
Church Missionary .	Goruekpore .	—	150	200
Soc. Prop. Gospel . .	Cawnpore . .	—	11	—

SOUTH INDIA.

Baptist	Khari . . .	—	—	450
London Missionary .	Vizagapatam.	40	—	50
London Missionary .	Cuddapah . .	32	98	132
London Missionary .	Vepery . . .	35	—	—
London Missionary .	Tripassore . .	15	—	—
Soc. Prop. Gospel . .	Vepery . . .	156	—	200
Soc. Prop. Gospel . .	Tanjore . . .	—	3211	—
London Missionary .	Chittoor . .	10	—	20
London Missionary .	Belgaum . . .	15	—	100
London Missionary .	Bellary . . .	32	—	—
London Missionary .	Bangalore . .	20	—	100
London Missionary .	Salem	32	—	150
London Missionary .	Combaconum.	25	—	200
London Missionary .	Coimbatore . .	9	—	80
Church Missionary .	Allepie . . .	—	—	—
Church Missionary .	Cochin . . .	150	—	—
London Missionary .	Neyoor . . .	—	—	6,000
London Missionary .	Nagercoil . .	127	—	5,423
Church Missionary .	Tinnevelly . .	—	2029	10,286

No. XXXV.

LECTURE VII.—Page 233.

On the Practice and Principles of the Church Missionary Society, as explained in Appendix II. to the Thirty-ninth Report.

THE operations of this Society hold so prominent a place in the missionary transactions connected with the Church, and in the interest of a vast body of her members, that it must necessarily attract to itself the careful attention of those who are interested in missions. Hence a more particular notice than would otherwise be desirable in a work designed to present a general view of missions, has been given to it; and justice can hardly be done to what is stated in the body of the Lecture, nor, probably, to the Society, without explaining a little more fully what appears to be anomalous in its constitution. This I would do at once freely and dispassionately. It can hardly be esteemed a reproach to a Society to find that, being originated within the last fifty years, during which ecclesiastical principles were so little brought prominently forward, its transactions have not been conducted in accordance with those principles, and that, in the exertion of a zeal for the conversion of the heathen, for the due performance of which no authoritative provision had been made, it has “stretched” itself “beyond its measure.” But now that a more systematic movement of the Church is so urgently required, it cannot but be deemed a matter of the first importance to see a Society, influential as this is, brought into entire unison with the principles and polity of that Church with which it identifies its operations.

The point on which I would remark, is that brought forward in the following extract from the Appendix alluded to, in which the principles and practice of the Society are professedly set forth in reference to one ecclesiastical function, that, namely, of “Mission.”

“III. The Third general head of the Society’s proceedings is, THE SENDING FORTH, TO PARTICULAR STATIONS,

THE MISSIONARIES THUS ORDAINED, OR OTHER CLERGYMEN WHO HAVE BEEN PREVIOUSLY ORDAINED.

“ Now, here an objection against the Society has been founded on the use of the term ‘ sending forth :’—it sounds like an exercise of ecclesiastical power. But, ecclesiastically speaking, the Bishop of London ‘ sends forth’ every missionary ordained by him. The law of the land has sanctioned the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London in ordaining persons to officiate abroad. The Secretary of the Church Missionary Society requests, by letter, the Bishop of London to ordain, in conformity with the provisions of the Act of Parliament, such and such persons, whom the Society is willing to support in some foreign station. The Bishop, by the imposition of hands, gives them authority to preach the Gospel, with a view to their foreign location.—In the case of persons already in Holy Orders, who may join the Society, they may be said to go forth by their own voluntary act ; but their Letters of Orders, given by a Bishop of our Church, are their mission and commission, ecclesiastically speaking.

“ Hence, to call the acts of the Church Missionary Society—in selecting the station, paying the passage-money, and agreeing to provide the missionary’s salary—to call these acts a SENDING FORTH of preachers, in an ecclesiastical sense, is to confound names with things, and to lose sight of all true Church principles.”

The objection here alluded to, does, indeed, at once present itself in reflecting upon the proceedings of the Society ; and the reply which is put forward to it, in the passage quoted, is drawn partly from the acts of the Society, and partly from the nature of the ecclesiastical function of “ mission” which it is charged with assuming.

1. First, then, in reference to the acts of the Society. They are stated to consist of applying to “ the Bishop of London to ordain such persons as the Society is willing to support abroad,”—“ selecting the station,”—“ paying the passage-money,”—and “ agreeing to provide the missionary’s salary.” Now it is not asserted that these acts, taken simply by them-

selves, constitute any ecclesiastical function ; but is this in reality a fair statement of the acts of the Society ? Is there not a studious omission of those points which might be objected to ? For, in truth, what has been, and what is the practice of the Society ? It determines in what new field the Gospel shall be preached ; it selects a missionary ; it *appoints* him to his sphere of action ; it limits his ministerial functions ; it superintends the proceedings of the mission, or assigns the superintendence of them to a Committee ; it relinquishes a mission at will.—I am speaking *chiefly* of missions in countries in which no Bishop resides ; and the following extracts from the Society's Reports are adduced to prove what is stated.

“ You have been appointed as missionaries to the Island of Ceylon. For many years the Society has had it in contemplation to send missionaries thither.” Instructions to the Rev. Brethren, Lambrick, Mayor, Ward and Knight. Eighteenth Report, p. 178.

“ The Committee are now commencing a mission in South-Eastern Africa.” Instructions to the Rev. Francis Owen, &c. Thirty-seventh Report, p. 71.

“ You, Mr. Dixon, and Mr. and Mrs. Farrar, have been appointed by the Committee to strengthen the mission at Bombay.” Instructions to Rev. Messrs. Dixon and Farrar. Twenty-ninth Report, p. 152.

“ For Ceylon, the Committee are, at present, able to appoint but one additional missionary.” Instructions, &c. Twentieth Report, pp. 231, 236.

“ During your temporary stay at Port Natal, the Committee will not disapprove of your ministering to the English residing there ; but without undertaking a regular pastoral charge, or forming a permanent engagement with them.” Instructions to the Rev. Fr. Owen. Thirty-seventh Report, p. 73.

“ In the three Presidencies in India, the Committee have long had the advantage of corresponding Committees, to superintend and conduct the general proceedings of the Society's mission . . . These local Committees represent the Society, and act with its authority.” Twenty-ninth Report. Instructions to Missionaries, p. 152.

It is to be observed that these instructions were given in reference to India, in 1829, when a Bishop presided over that Diocese.

“ With respect to the location of each of you, upon your arrival at Sierra Leone, the Committee would leave it to the Local Committee to decide where your services, Brothers Denton and Ehemann, may be most advantageously employed.” *Instructions to West Africa Missionaries*, 1843, p. 23.

“ In the last Report, it was anticipated that the Society might be obliged, after all its efforts, to withdraw its mission from Rio Pongus. The Committee grieve to state that the fury of the slave-trade . . . has rendered that measure unavoidable.” *Report, Eighteenth year*, p. 179. The same was the case in regard to Zooloo, in *Report for 1840* ; and to Jamaica, in *Report for 1842*.

Lastly ;

“ The Committee have the satisfaction of sending forth another company of Christian labourers, to missions where their labours are greatly needed.” *Instructions to Missionaries, Twenty-ninth Report*, p. 149.

“ The Committee now send you forth to your labours, in the name of our common Lord and Saviour.” *Instructions to Missionaries. Twenty-fifth Report*, p. 211.

Upon these extracts it occurs to ask, Are the acts of the Society fairly represented by the statement that they consist “ in selecting the station, paying the passage-money, and agreeing to provide the missionary’s salary ?”—What is the meaning of language, if authority to “ send” is not assumed in what is quoted ?—Are not ecclesiastical acts comprised in the authority here asserted ?

2. The reply made in the Appendix to these latter questions is contained in the principle enunciated in regard to “ mission,”—viz. that, “ ecclesiastically speaking, the Bishop of London ‘ sends forth’ every missionary ordained by him. The law of the land has sanctioned the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London ordaining persons to officiate abroad.” Still, though

the Bishop of London does *ordain*, how does he give mission? He is not supposed to perform any other act than to ordain;—does he give mission simply in virtue of his ordination, or in virtue of the Act of Parliament which sanctions his ordaining? It cannot be the latter, for there are some missionaries employed by the Society *not* ordained by the Bishop of London,—nay there are some Lutheran ministers,—and in these cases the Society professes that “*their letters of orders are their mission and commission.*” So that, I conclude, it is meant that, in all cases,—since clearly the Act of Parliament is not necessary for mission,—ordination confers mission and commission.

Now this principle is entirely untenable. Mission always was in earlier days, and is in our Church, a separate ecclesiastical act, apart from, and subsequent to, ordination. Without multiplying authorities, the distinction is made in Chrysostom's words, in reference to Unilas, the missionary to the Goths, *ὁν ἐχειροτόνησα καὶ ἐπέμψα*. It was expressly provided, in early days, that no one should be ordained, *ἀπολελυμένως*, without appointment to a special charge, for which a licence was given. See Dodwell's *Dissertat. Cyprian. De Presbyteris Doctoribus*; and Bingham's *Antiq.* book ii. ch. iii. sect. 2. In our own Church too, before an ordained person can officiate in a given charge, he needs licence or institution from the Bishop. This is set forth by Heylin: “When a clerk is to be admitted into any benefice” the Bishop “doth institute him into the said benefice, according to the laws and canons; committing to him the care and government of the souls of all the parishioners therein For though the priest or presbyter by his ordination hath authority to preach the word of God in the congregation, yet it is with this limitation, ‘*If he shall be so appointed,*’ (see the form of Ordering of Priests,) that is to say, is sufficiently licensed thereunto, and not otherwise.” Heylin's *Cyprianus Anglicanus*, *Introd.* § x. p. 8. London, 1668.

In canonical language, as ordination confers authority to minister generally, so mission “*jurisdictionem tribuit,*” and corresponds with our *licence* or *institution*, the *appointment* to a particular sphere of ministerial labour.

Perhaps it may be here replied, that this is recognised by the Society, which requires its missionaries to receive a licence

from the Bishop in whose diocese he officiates, as in India. So far is well. Let it be observed however, that (allowing in these cases the licence to confer mission) *mission is distinct from ordination*,—and that therefore the principle set up in the Appendix of the Society is not in accordance with ecclesiastical principle. Allow, then, that licence confers mission, and that in foreign dioceses the Society's missionaries receive licence and mission ;—then the question recurs, *who has given or does give mission to its missionaries in countries where no English Bishop is appointed ?* Not the Bishop of London, for he only ordains them, if he happen to do so ; he certainly gives no licence, does not “appoint,” does not superintend, cannot recall. Either they are without mission, or the Society assumes it. And certainly, in the plain language which it uses, and in the authority which (if words have a meaning) it asserts thereby, it does assume it.

I am not inquiring here in whom the authority to “send,” in lands not included in a diocese, should be vested ;—this only is clear, it cannot be in a *lay voluntary association*. I am aware, too, that there may be some obscurity on this point, in our present ecclesiastical arrangements ; but as dispassionate a judgment as I can give to the question convinces me that the Society does assume an ecclesiastical function which cannot belong to it ; and that it must, in the end, entail confusion on itself. And certainly it cannot be thought satisfactory that a question like this should be dismissed merely with the remark with which the portion of the Appendix, above quoted, ends, viz. that “to call these acts a sending forth of preachers, in an ecclesiastical sense, is to confound names with things, and to lose sight of all true Church principles.”

That the point I have here pressed is not a mere theory, but one which is felt in its practical bearings by those engaged in the work of propagating the Gospel, is evidenced by the following extract from a private letter of one whose high position, as well as strong practical sense and experience, give a weight to his opinion, which I trust will excuse the liberty I take in publishing it without his express sanction.

“ My distinct persuasion is, that it behoves the *Church* to be *per se*, or acting by means of actual ecclesiastics specially commissioned by her to that object, the channel by which aspirants to the Colonial ministry are introduced and sent forth upon their *mission*. I would have all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, of all Colonial Churches, attracted towards some such common centre within the Church itself ; because our Societies, however noble, munificent, and serviceable, in their operations, yet in their *constitution* (being *voluntary* associations, and composed in a great proportion of *lay-men* and *women*) are not, and cannot be, equally satisfactory, so as to give the full *ecclesiastical* character to the *ordained* missionaries whom they send forth. Leaving the collection of pecuniary means to them, and rendering them all thanks, and all gratitude, and honour, for the abundant liberality with which they have ministered, and yet do minister, to the necessities of these distant branches of the Church, I should yet rejoice to see them placed in communication with an institution *purely ecclesiastical*, under the direction of which it should be understood that every thing pertaining to clerical preparation is to be conducted. I see, and have reason to know, that the establishment of such an order in the case of the Roman Church, and the want of it in ours, does contribute, among other causes, to give their priesthood a notion of their being more truly commissioned by *the Church* ; and to employ that notion as an engine for confirming their own estimation, and for depreciating ours.”

No. XXXVI.

LECTURE VII.—Page 236.

The Bishop of Madras and the Church Missionary Society in reference to the Case of the Rev. W. T. Humphrey.

A STATEMENT of this transaction is published in the Society's Report for 1842—1843. Appendix. Without entering into the special merits of the case, the leading facts, and the general questions which arose out of them, are as follows :—

In consequence of a letter expressing certain opinions, and addressed by Mr. Humphrey to the Secretary of the Madras Corresponding Committee, that body resolved, as "their deliberate judgment, that the maintenance of such principles as the Rev. Mr. Humphrey has now distinctly avowed, necessarily disqualifies any person from labouring in connexion with a Missionary Society of the Church of England." This resolution was passed without any previous consultation with the Bishop of Madras, in whose diocese, and under whose licence, Mr. Humphrey was officiating. This censure was so far confirmed at home, as for the Parent Committee to resolve, "That the Committee fully concur in opinion with the Corresponding Committee, that the maintenance of such principles as Mr. Humphrey has distinctly avowed, necessarily disqualifies him from labouring in connexion with this Society." And the Committee proposed to supply another missionary in the room of Mr. Humphrey at Mayaveram.

The general question which arose out of this proceeding was (as stated by the Bishop of Madras), "Has any Committee of a Society which claims to be considered as a Society of the members of the Church of England, any power to pass a sentence, which virtually amounts to a deprivation from his cure, on any Clergyman, without reference to his Diocesan?" "The sentence (he adds) is a virtual deprivation."

Without any specific reply to the question, the Committee of the Church Missionary Society advanced and maintained the following principle: that the right of "the Committee to withdraw the salary of a licensed missionary, without the Bishop's concurrence," "has ever been regarded as one of the established principles of the Society."¹

In consequence of these proceedings, the Bishop of Madras refused to grant any fresh licences to missionaries nominated by the Society. It is understood, however, that since the

¹ It seems, however, from Appendix II. to Report 1839, that the Committee claim to themselves confidence that they will not exercise this right of withdrawing the salary from a licensed missionary, "without reason sufficient to prove to the licensing Bishop the necessity of the proceeding." The question upon this arises, who is to judge of the sufficiency of the reason, which the Committee, perhaps, thinks ought to prove the necessity of the proceeding to the Bishop, but which *may not*? This point is undetermined.

Lecture to which this is appended was written, a communication has been made to the Bishop of Madras by the Committee, of such a nature as to induce his Lordship to consent to grant fresh licences to the Society's missionaries. But it appears that the points above mentioned remain yet unsettled.

Here, then, is one of those cases which must occur from the very nature of such voluntary associations ; one of those "misunderstandings" which "have sometimes arisen between the representatives of the Society abroad, and ecclesiastical authorities."¹ The Society seems, indeed, to reconcile itself to such difficulties and conflicts with authority, by the statement "that missionary operations are new and anomalous in the system of the Church of England : and that it is not always easy to draw a definite line between the two provinces which belong respectively to the Bishop and the Committee." Hence has arisen a plea for *mutual confidence*, the Committee placing confidence in the Bishops, the Bishops placing confidence in the Committee ! Who has assigned, it may be asked, any province, such as is claimed, to the Committee ? And are missionary proceedings indeed so wholly new and anomalous an operation in the Church of Christ, that the very first principles respecting them need to be settled, even the extent of a Bishop's authority in his own diocese ? Is it not rather that this new assumption of power has arisen, within fifty years, in voluntary associations, which comes into collision with the ecclesiastical rule of the Church, and causes "perplexities" and "misunderstandings ?"

Other "misunderstandings," it seems, have arisen, and undoubtedly will arise, while jealousy of episcopal authority is entertained by any association of members of the Church of England. The Bishop of Calcutta, who appears to have been met with difficulties of this nature in his diocese, from lay committees, has expressed this feeling so forcibly, in his Charge of 1838, that I transcribe passages from it, as well as from the pages of a writer of a previous date, and whose discernment upon this subject is only the more striking.

"And here I am led to advert," observes the Bishop of Calcutta, "to a question of detail respecting the machinery of our

¹ Appendix II. Report for 1839.

missions, which will require much consideration : I allude to the relations of the ordained and licensed missionary with his diocesan, and with the lay committees, who dispense the mission funds of the Societies at home. It is to be expected that many questions should arise in so anomalous a case, the chief danger of which is, that, simple as they are at first, they may tend, if not amicably arranged, to generate divisions amongst ourselves, and in our own Church, and lead ultimately to the most serious obstruction of spiritual good."

"I informed the reverend missionaries that they were as much entitled to my tenderest care and protection, and acted as much under my licence, as any other of the Clergy ; and that such licence implied at the least two things—an approbation of the sphere in which they were to labour, and a cognizance of their proceedings subsequently in the discharge of their spiritual functions. The principle thus laid down has been since, after much discussion, fully admitted and recognised by the Church Missionary Committee here and at home, and the question has thus been narrowed to such cases, in the application of the rule, as become the occasion of doubt and uneasiness. These, however embarrassing for a time, will, I trust, ultimately be adjusted.

"As to my own impression of the case, I can only say, that I stand now precisely where I did four years back. The mere recognition of a principle will be of course of little benefit, if the practical use of it is declined. I know the price at which I make this avowal in these evil days of our Church's rebuke—and friend as I am, and have been, of this excellent Society from its formation. But I hope to be enabled cheerfully to go 'through evil report and through good report,' after the example of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, on this and on all occasions of duty ; and most especially when the interests of my reverend brethren are concerned. For I consider the dignity, peace of mind, and usefulness of the Clergy in our missions, to be involved in their being preserved as much as possible independent of all control in their spiritual functions, except that which springs from their own ordination vows, the order of the Church, and the paternal superintendence of the Bishop. I speak of spiritual regimen only. With temporal

matters, and whatever may come under the head of lay patronage,—I repeat what I stated in my primary Charge—I never, in any way, interfere.

“ I may be wrong ; but I consider some of the best interests of my reverend brethren as especially dependent on my fidelity in this question. I regard the topic as one of the grand principles which constitute the distinction between an episcopal and a non-episcopal polity. That I should lay so much weight upon it, may perhaps seem strange to those who are unversed in ecclesiastical proceedings ; but to those who are in the least acquainted with them, it will appear at once in its true magnitude—every thing, in fact, turns upon it, as I think. I have always understood, and long observation confirms me in the opinion, that lay government in spiritual matters tends ultimately to hamper ministers in the discharge of their duties, to lower their doctrine and spirit, and insensibly to make them the creatures of the people. I have no fears on these subjects at present. But I look forward ; and I confess I can scarcely conceive of a greater evil, in the long lapse of time, than for ordained Presbyters in our Church to be placed in circumstances to lead them to court the changing pleasure, prejudices, and cast of religious sentiment of a number of lay gentlemen who happen to have obtained a majority of voices in the committee which hold the funds of their sacred cause.

“ Such a state of things has hitherto been unknown in the Church of England ; nor can I be a party for recognising it, until I am better advised.”¹ Charge to the Clergy of Calcutta, July 6, 1838, pp. 43—47.

Mr. A. Knox, in writing to Mr. Jebb, July, 1814, reports the following as part of a conversation held with Dean Graves on the subject of the missionary movement at that time going on in Ireland.

“ My answer was, ‘ that the Church of England would not be served by a dereliction, from whatever plausible motives, of its essential principle : that it was an essential of the Church of

¹ “ It would be most ungrateful in me not to state here, that in the Committee of the Calcutta Diocesan Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, I have met with nothing, since I have been in India, but cordial and zealous cooperation.”

England, that, whatever was done in its name, should be done regularly and responsibly, under the authority of its chiefs, and harmonically with its organization. But this I observed could not be the case with missions voluntarily undertaken, by un-accredited individuals. This would be the work not of the Church, but of self-directed, irresponsible agents: if individuals,' I added, 'would act in this way, let them do it, and let those whose conscience impels them, unite in the undertaking if they will. But let no one talk of serving the Establishment by exertions irreconcilable with its essential principles, nor call that a Church mission, which the Church could not recognise without self-contradiction. In a word, a Bishop of the Anglican Church is now to be established in the East; he will of course be the regular superintendent of all ecclesiastical movements in that quarter; through him therefore alone would it seem that a Church of England mission could now be set on foot, or, if set on foot, could be conducted with consistency or safety.'” *Thirty Years' Correspondence between Mr. A. Knox and Bishop Jebb*, vol. ii. p. 187.

No. XXXVII.

LECTURE VII.—Page 239.

The purchase of Lands by Missionaries in New Zealand.

THE following statements and list, on this subject, are taken from Dieffenbach's *New Zealand*. London: Murray. 1843. The author went out as naturalist to the New Zealand Company.

“Many of the older missionaries,” he says, “have become landed proprietors; and many, by other pursuits, such as trading with the produce of their garden or stock, have become wealthy men.”

“The acquisition of land by these individuals is the reason why the whole body has been so much abused, although the fault lay only with a few.” Vol. ii. p. 165.

“Eleven missionaries, the only ones who had given in their claims to the land-commissioners when I left New Zealand, claimed 96,219 acres! and four others had not yet submitted their claims, which I doubt will be equally large. Some of

these persons are now retiring on their property, and their sons have become so independent as to refuse lucrative situations under government." P. 166.

He then gives a table of the purchases made by the missionaries, with the prices given for the land, from which the following is extracted. I observe that nine of the names are still on the list of the Church Missionary Society ; but it is not quite correct to speak of the individuals as *missionaries*, since but three of them seem to be in orders ; the remainder labour as catechists or assistants.

	ACRES.	
J. Davis	5,000	
Joseph Matthews	2,500	Catechist.
Richard Matthews	3,000	Catechist.
Richard Taylor	unknown.	Missionary.
William White	12,403	
Henry Williams	11,000	Missionary.
William Williams	890	Missionary.
Charles Baker	6,230	Catechist.
William Fairburn	40,400	Catechist.
James Kemp	9,976	Catechist.
John King	5,000	Catechist.
	<hr/> 96,399	

The price which is stated to have been given by these purchasers for the above tracts of land, is 3102*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*

There is reason to fear that the above statement is not exaggerated ; and it bears out the evidence given before the House of Commons by Mr. Flatt, and which is quoted by the Rev. S. Robins, in his first pamphlet on the subject.

The Society has been exposed to much remark, in consequence of its conduct in reference to these transactions. But with this point I am not immediately concerned, the facts being all that is needed for my argument. I would observe, however, that the Society does not seem to have examined, censured, and checked the evil as it should have done. Since the two statements, which appeared in the Appendix to the Report for 1840, no notice has been publicly taken of it : nor does it appear whether the missionaries do not still retain the lands thus acquired. This must cause grief to any friend of missions, since a handle is thus given to the enemies of the Church, of

which they are not slow to avail themselves. The use which the Roman Catholics, even now, make of these circumstances may be learnt from the following passage in a recent letter from a gentleman in New Zealand, who writes thus:—"The natives are very apprehensive about the alienation of their land. One of the chiefs, inclined to popery—or, rather, who had given ear to the popish priests—had a conference with the Bishop the other day, and in a striking way spoke of their feelings, and of the advantage which the papists took of it. They saw large tracts of land bought; with their free-will indeed, but when the immediate temptation was over, they thought what was to become of their children. 'We felt ourselves,' said they, '*on a fish's back*,' i. e. ousted from the land. 'We saw the missionaries buying large tracts for their families, and then the Picopos came in, aggravating the evil, and contrasting with it the fact that they had no families to provide for, and neither owned nor wished to acquire a foot of land.' Fortunately the Bishop is in the same position."

No. XXXVIII.

LECTURE VII.—Page 254.

A Missionary Seminary the Nursery of Evangelists to the Heathen.

THE immense extent of the colonial possessions and dependencies of Great Britain, the rapidly increasing population within them, and the contact into which, through them, we are brought with almost the entire heathen world, open before the Church a field of labour, and create a demand upon her energies altogether unexampled, and one *which must be met*. Throughout the wide extent of India, and especially from the continent and islands of the South Seas, a demand is made for more labourers. The following is an extract from a letter of the

Bishop of Australia, in which he states the pressing need, and a proposal for meeting it :—

“ I will now turn,” he says, “ to a subject, which formed the occupation of many of the hours which we (himself and the Bishop of New Zealand) passed in converse together . . . I mean the human resources, upon which we can rely, for sending labourers (competent both in numbers and ability) into those vast, and as yet uncultured portions of the vineyard, over which we are respectively set in charge. It is this question which, above all others, has come home to the hearts of both ; because we cannot but be sensible, that, whatever our humble personal efforts may be, we cannot hope to work effectually the work of Him who sent us, unless aided by a sufficient number of men duly qualified to serve God in His Church. The Bishop of New Zealand has with him three excellent and superior persons ; and he was surprised and delighted to meet with a number of Clergymen here, who, in point of private worth, professional ability, and correct principles (I say it with unfeigned thankfulness), would maintain the credit of any church upon earth. But the question which arises upon our thoughts, and which formed, as I have said, the subject of many serious conversations, is this,—‘ *How is a supply of such men to be kept up ?*’ The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts has, through the special goodness of Providence, done wonders. But there appears to be at this time considerable difficulty on their part in maintaining the requisite supply ; and that difficulty, it is to be feared, is likely rather to increase ; especially as, in the contemplation of the Bishop of New Zealand, and of myself, our establishment here (strengthened, we hope, ere long by the foundation of the see of Tasmania) is but a preliminary to a wide extension of the Church over the vast expanse of the Pacific. The conclusion at which we arrived, was in favour of erecting, under the immediate eye of each, a School of Divinity, in which promising young men (from eighteen to twenty-three) might be trained in the knowledge of the duties of their profession, as well as initiated into the practical discharge of them. By means of such institutions, in addition to what the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel may be able to accomplish for us, we trust that the Church may be supplied with a due succes-

sion of men qualified rightly to divide the word of truth. The Bishop of New Zealand has already certain funds and resources applicable to that object, and will unquestionably proceed to make the experiment now under consideration, with the few youths who have accompanied him. In what manner I might hope to lay a similar foundation here, shall be afterwards stated.

“Now I am anxious to direct your thoughts to the mode in which duly qualified aspirants to the ministerial charge may be found out, and forwarded hither, to be placed under our course of instruction. It seems to me that the large public schools, aided by occasional contributions from the smaller foundations, or from private establishments, are quite sufficient to supply the needs of the several professions in England ; and I presume that in those schools, if a boy shows a good disposition and talents, either by exhibitions and scholarships, or in some other way, the means are generally provided for maintaining him at the University, so that his acquirements shall not be lost. But in the smaller schools, I am no less persuaded, there are hundreds every year doomed to inaction and obscurity, or to some unworthy use of their abilities, who, if they were systematically sought out and assisted very moderately, would supply exactly the description of persons that we should rejoice to have sent out to us to be trained as colonial clergymen ; such, I mean, as at the age of seventeen or eighteen are really ripe and good scholars, whose hearts are full of pious veneration for those seminaries of sound learning, parts of the Church itself, in which their early proficiency has been acquired, and whose longing desire it is, to devote themselves to the service of that Church, under whose shade they have grown up. The *ἱθoς* among them is exactly such as we should wish to have to work upon ; and you will seldom, if ever, find it implanted, except in those who have been brought up from early youth in association with the institutions of the Church.”

The Bishop here instances himself as one, who but for an unexpected legacy, just as he was leaving King's School, at Canterbury,—would have been excluded from the ministry, through inability to maintain himself at either of the universities, and then goes on to say :—

“Assuming, then, that there are such persons, it would be a

matter for prudential consideration, whether the object proposed could be best attained by assisting them through an English university course, or by sending them to pass four or five years in an establishment here, under the immediate superintendence, inspection, and control of the Bishop of the colony. No special recommendation of the former course (that of a home education) occurs to my thoughts, excepting the superiority of advantage in point of scholarship which it must confer : but this would not appear to me deserving of so much consideration, as to be set in opposition to numerous benefits attached to their being trained in an episcopal seminary here (from eighteen to twenty-three), and so being habituated to the duties of their future station ; while their characters and capacities would be unfolding themselves to the knowledge of him, who would afterwards have to direct their services, and under whom they would be trained and disciplined to act. It is my firm conviction that without such an institution we cannot reasonably hope to make the impression required upon the mass of indifference, and even of worse characteristics, which new colonies must necessarily, I fear, present."

In consequence of this representation, the project has been originated, and submitted to the private consideration of the Bishops of the Church, for the establishment of a seminary for educating and training young men as a missionary Clergy in the colonies and among the heathen. In a matter of such importance, it would be manifestly wrong to forestall the decision of our Spiritual Rulers ; the following, however, naturally present themselves as leading features in such an institution :—

Instruction in theology, ecclesiastical history, and the classics.—Languages.—Acquaintance with heathen, especially the Eastern, superstitions.—A sound knowledge of medicine, and the more ordinary operations of surgery.—For those destined for the more uncivilized heathen, a knowledge of the mechanical arts.—In preparation for their work, there would be manifestly needed habits of constant devotion, a simple and frugal mode of life, and a course of discipline which might inure these future labourers to "endure hardness as good soldiers of Christ."

Should an opportunity ever occur of establishing a mission

in China, it would, no doubt, be borne in mind how great an influence is acquired among that people by the possession of superior attainments, especially the sciences, and higher branches of art.

The very critical period which seems coming on in respect to our Colonies, leaves scarcely a hope of the obligations which press upon us being discharged without a timely supply of men thus equipped for the contest ; for all accounts represent the operations of the Church in the Colonies as a contest with Romanism, and those forms of irreligion which belong to an unorganized state of society.

And further, besides the supply of men of our own country as missionaries, it would be worth consideration whether the opportunity might not be offered, in such an institution, for the instruction of natives who visit our shores from all lands, who frequently come for instruction, who are commonly entrusted to chance teachers, and are exposed to the influence of strange bodies,—but who might be brought within the beneficial influence of the Church, be educated, and perhaps return missionaries to their own countrymen.

It can scarcely be needful to refer to the facts which prove how such institutions have ever been the nurseries of evangelists, and how the Christianity of Europe is indebted to them. It is not improbable that our Capitular bodies were in their origin established largely for the purpose of converting the neighbourhood surrounding the cathedral. At any rate this is stated by Stillingfleet on one of the uses of these bodies. Indeed this learned writer treats largely of their institution and use, in a passage which has been quoted so frequently as to preclude the necessity of repetition.¹

To come, however, to later times ; at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the commercial intercourse of the Dutch with the East Indies was so great, a missionary seminary was formed at Leyden, in 1612, for the purpose of providing missionaries for the East and the West. It was projected by

¹ Disc. of the true Antiq. of London. Stillingfleet's Eccl. Cases, vol. ii. pp. 549—559 ; quoted in the " Past and Prospective Benefits of Cathedral Establishments," by Dr. Pusey, p. 132, ed. 2 ; and Appendix to " The Church the Converter of the Heathen," p. 96.

Anton. Waleus, Professor of Theology at Leyden, who was also the first Principal of the Institution. An account of the necessity and the form of this seminary is given in the works of this author, vol. ii. p. 437, in a tract, headed, *Necessitas ac forma erigendi Collegii seu Seminarii Indici*.

Some of the rules are so worthy consideration, that I extract the following passages. After detailing the character of those to be elected, and the duties of the Regent or Principal, he treats of the education and training of the scholars in these words :—

“ *Exercitia quoque nonnulla inter eos domi suæ instituet, per quæ in iisdem studiis magis ac magis proficere possint ; qualia sunt S. Scripturæ lectiones atque explicationes, repetitiones locorum Catecheticorum, disputationes, declamationes, ac propositiones, iis horis atque eo modo, quem ipse convenientissimum pro numero atque profectu eorum judicabit.*

“ *Singularitèr etiam, quavis occasione data, zelus propagandæ religionis Christianæ in iis erit excitandus. Scripturæ atque Ecclesiasticæ historiæ in eum finem nonnunquam producendæ, atque aliæ rationes à Dei singulari cura ac benedictione erga eos, qui tanto operi fidelitèr se accingunt.*

“ *Ad pietatis exercitia externa, abstinentiam, tolerantiam, preces, jejunia, pauperum et afflictorum visitationes, ægrotorum consolationes, &c. peculiariter quoque erunt adhortandi, et qui jam provectiores sunt in iis nonnunquam exercendi.*

“ *Quemadmodum vero propter confluxum hominum diversi generis et religionis inter nostrates, adversus libertinos, papistas, atque alias sectas diligenter muniri debent : ita et propter infidelium diversa genera, quæ in India reperiuntur, adversus Judæos, Mahumetanos, et Gentiles specialiter quoque instruendi sunt, ut argumenta firmissima quæ falsitatem et superstitionem eorum convincunt, illis in promptu sint, et veritas fidei nostræ adversus eos ab iisdem defendi possit. Ad quem finem iis proponenda erunt quæ ab idoneis scriptoribus, Plessæo, atque aliis, de hac re sunt scriptis consignata.*

“ *In eundem finem utile erit eis quoque ostendere, quæ de natura illarum regionum, et gentium ingenio, ac de modo cum iis agendi ab aliis sunt observata.*

“ *Prudentiæ item nonnulla præcepta iis dari convenit, ante-*

quam hinc discedant, tum quomodo inter nostros, tum quomodo inter infideles se gerere debeant. Quomodo rudiores, quomodo doctiores et argutiis nitentes aggredi. Et unde adversus hæc diversa hominum genera iis exordiendum, ut disputationibus non necessariis a rebus necessariis non absterreantur aut alienentur; quemadmodum illius methodi exempla in Scripturis frequenter occurrunt.

“ Ubi vero Collegium hoc suam formam acceperit, consultum insuper erit, ut uno aut altero ante discessum anno, in lingua illis regionibus usitatissima nonnihil instruantur, &c.”

Towards the close of the same century, it seems that the minds of many distinguished members of the English Church were turned to the same object. In Robert Boyle's Works (vol. v. p. 586), there is contained a letter from Dr. Hyde, Canon of Christ Church, dated 1677, in which he proposed that one of the halls in Oxford should be set apart as a missionary college, with the name of Collegium de Propaganda Fide. How far this proposal was carried is not mentioned.

Some years later, A.D. 1695, Dean Prideaux made a similar proposition to Archbishop Tenison; and “ accompanied his proposal with 100*l*.” Among his recommendations it was suggested:—

“ That a seminary be erected in England to breed up persons to supply this mission (to India) for the future; and that they therein be instructed not only in all parts of good learning to withstand the opposition of the popish priests, but also in the Indian, Malabar, and Sanserit languages.

“ That the choice of those to be bred up in this seminary, be made up of poor boys out of the hospitals in London or elsewhere, whose fortunes can give them no temptations, when educated for this employment, to refuse to undertake it; and that care be taken to elect for this purpose such only whose temper, parts, and inclination, may promise them to be most capable of being fit for it; or else I would propose much rather,

“ That, after this matter hath received some settlements and progress, the persons to be bred up here for this employment be brought from India, which will have these two conveniences; first, That the languages of the country from whence they come

will not be to learn ; and secondly, That, when they are bred up, there will be no such danger of their miscarrying, when they come thither again into their native country, as the English are liable unto on their going hence to so hot a climate." Life, pp. 162-3, quoted by Dr. Pusey, in Appendix to The Church the Converter of the Heathen.

Lastly, in a letter from the Rev. W. Stevenson, chaplain at Fort St. George, to the Secretary of S. P. C. K. dated 1716, a similar proposal occurs.

" Besides this fund for expenses, it were to be wished that there were colleges erected in Europe for training up missionaries, and teaching the languages that are necessary for them, namely, the Malabar, the Gentoo, Moorish, and Portuguese tongues ; in each of which they might be somewhat instructed before they come abroad ; but chiefly in the Malabar and Portuguese, which is the *lingua franca* used throughout the coast of Coromandel.

" From such seminaries the mission must be supplied from time to time with at least eight well qualified missionaries to reside in India ; and if a greater number could be sent out, they might be very usefully employed in so great a harvest as here offers itself."

He urges the necessity of having some one empowered to *ordain gentile* proselytes to the ministry, and adds the following useful suggestion :—

" To prevent all disputes about religion, and further the propagation of it among the natives, it will be necessary that not only a short *abstract of the Christian doctrine*, but likewise a larger Catechism, containing all proper (especially practical) instruction, be composed by some judicious members of the Society in Europe, for the use of the mission." Abstract of Reports of S. P. C. K. pp. 20, 21.

No. XXXIX.

LECTURE VIII.—Page 268.

Notice of a Divine Triad in the System of Lao-tsze.

THE following concise account of this remarkable feature in the system of Lao-tsze, a Chinese philosopher of the sixth century before the Christian era, and a contemporary with Confucius, is extracted from Dr. Wiseman's Lectures on Science and Revealed Religion, Lect. XI. p. 402. His reference is also added. The system of Lao-tsze presents many coincidences with that of the Platonic school of the West:—

“ The doctrine of a Trinity is too clearly expounded in his (Lao-tsze) writings to be misunderstood; but in one passage it is expressed in terms of a most interesting character.

“ ‘ That for which you look, and which you see not, is called I; that towards which you listen, yet hear not, is called Hi (the letter H); what your hand seeks, and yet feels not, is called Wei (the letter V). These three are inscrutable, and being united, form only one. Of them the superior is not more bright, nor the inferior more obscure . . . This is what is called form without form, image without image, an indefinable Being! Precede it, and ye find not its beginning; follow it, and ye discover not its end.’¹

“ It is not necessary to comment at any length upon this extraordinary passage, which obviously contains the same doctrine which I have quoted from other works. I need only remark, with Abel Remusat, that the extraordinary name given to this Triune essence is composed of the three letters I H V; for the syllables expressed in the Chinese have no meaning in that language, and are, consequently, representative of the mere letters. It is, therefore, a foreign name, and we shall seek for it in vain anywhere except among the Jews. Their ineffable name, as it was called, which we pronounce Jehovah, is to be met, variously distorted, in the mysteries of many heathen

¹ Abel Remusat, *Mémoire sur la Vie et les Opinions de Lao-tseu*, Paris, p. 40.

nations; but in none less disfigured than in this passage of a Chinese philosopher. Indeed, it could not have been possibly expressed in his language in any manner more closely approaching to the original."

No. XL.

LECTURE VIII.—Page 269.

Coincidences between some of the Hindû Writings and Portions of Revealed Truth.

ON this point I am happy to be able to cite the words of A. P. Forbes, Esq., who, in a communication with which he favoured me, speaking of the worshippers of Krishna called "the Bluktahs," remarks, "Their system is to be found in the celebrated Bhagavad Gita, a work of the tenth century, which has been translated into English by Wilkins, and into Latin by Aug. V. Schlegel. The moral sentiments in it are higher than in many of the other Indian systems; the religion is more spiritual, with less dependence on human exertions, and less pride of human intellect; while some of the distinctive doctrines of Christianity are plainly alluded to. Thus, remission of sin and the effects of faith seem to have suggested what occurs in Canto IX. v. 30;—'Si vel admodum facinorosus me colat cultu non aliorum distracto, is probus æstinandus est, is utique rectè compositus. Brevi evadit pius, et ad perpetuam tranquillitatem pervenit. Confide, Kuntidis nate, haud quisquam mei cultor pessum datur.' (Schlegel's translation.) Again, what our Saviour says in the Gospel of St. John of our unity in Him seems a coincidence too striking to be accidental with what immediately precedes the last quotation. 'At qui me colunt religiosè ii insunt mihi, et ego iis insum,' (Schlegel,) a passage which in the original is even more

remarkable. I could show many other passages of a similar nature, and think that the subject would bear an investigation pushed further through some of the other modern Hindû philosophers."

No. XLI.

LECTURE VIII.—Page 269.

The Resemblance of Lamaism to Forms of Worship in the Church of Rome.

BÖHLEN, in his treatise (*Das alte Indien*) examines, with some minuteness, the various points of resemblance between the Buddhistic forms of religion and those prevalent in the Church of Rome; and concludes, from a variety of testimonies, the greater antiquity of each of these among the Buddhists. As the main features in which this resemblance exists have been already enumerated, (in the note, Lect. V. p. 148,) as they are practised in Japan, it may be sufficient here to remark, that the same are found in *all* the countries where this religion prevails; that which peculiarly distinguishes the Lamaism of Thibet being simply the fact, that when that system was first authoritatively established there, after the invasion of Gengis-Khan, by the grandson of that conqueror, this prince annexed the temporal government of the province to the spiritual, in the person of Delai-Lama. This circumstance, which took place in the thirteenth century, Dr. Wiseman makes use of to explain the similarity which he freely acknowledges, and argues as if the *whole* system had then first arisen. His sentiments are expressed in the following extract:—

“ Another instance of the advantage which the progress of oriental historical research may bring to matters of religious interest, is afforded us by the light lately thrown upon the religious

worship of Thibet. When Europe first became acquainted with this worship, it was impossible not to be struck with the analogies it presented to the religious rites of Christians. The hierarchy of the Lamas, their monastic institutes, their churches and ceremonies, resemble ours with such minuteness that some connexion between the two seemed necessarily to have existed. The early missionaries were satisfied with considering Lamaism as a sort of degenerate Christianity, and as a remnant of those Syrian sects which once had penetrated into those remote parts of Asia.”¹

Speaking of a Chinese work recently translated, Dr. Wiseman adds, “ From this document we learn that Gengis-Khan overran that country, and established a government which comprised Thibet and its dependencies. The Emperor Khoubilai, seeing the difficulty of governing this distant country, devised a method for rendering it submissive which was conformable to the usages of the people. He divided the country of the *Thou-pho* into provinces and districts; appointed officers of different degrees, and subjected them to the authority of the Ti-szu (preceptor of the emperor). At that time Bhachbah, or Pagba, a native of Sarghia, in Thibet, held this office. At the age of seven years he had read all the sacred books, and comprehended their most sublime ideas, for which reason he was called the *Spiritual Child*. In 1260 he received the title of *King of the Great and Precious Law*, and a seal of oriental jasper. Besides these, he was invested with the dignity of *Chief of the Yellow Religion!*”

“ At the time when the Buddhist patriarchs first established themselves in Thibet, that country was in immediate contact with Christianity. Not only had the Nestorians ecclesiastical settlements in Tartary, but Italian and French religious men visited the court of the Khans, charged with important missions from the Pope and St. Lewis of France. They carried with them church ornaments and altars, to make, if possible, a favourable impression on the minds of the natives. For this end they celebrated their worship in presence of the Tartar princes, by

¹ Abel Remusat, *Aperçu d'un Mémoire intitulé Recherches Chronologiques sur l'Origine de la Hiérarchie Lamaïque*, reprinted in the *Mélanges Asiatiques*. Paris, 1825, vol. i. p. 129.

whom they were permitted to erect chapels within the precincts of the royal palaces. An Italian archbishop, sent by Clement V., established his see in the capital, and erected a church, to which the faithful were summoned by the sound of three bells, and where they beheld many sacred pictures, painted on the walls."¹

"Surrounded by the celebration of such ceremonies, hearing from the ambassadors and missionaries of the West accounts of the worship and hierarchy of their countries, it is no wonder that the religion of the Lamas, just beginning to assume splendour and pomp, should have adopted institutions and practices already familiar to them, and already admired by those whom they wished to gain. The coincidence of time and place, the previous non-existence of that sacred monarchy, amply demonstrates that the religion of Thibet is but an attempted imitation of ours." *Lectures on Science and Revealed Religion*, Lect. XI. pp. 412—415.

Were it in Thibet alone that this resemblance obtained, the explanation here given might be admitted as satisfactory. Abel Remusat, however, to whom Dr. Wiseman principally refers, divides the historical existence of the Buddhistic system into three periods, as follows :—

First Period.—Early Patriarchs in India, from Shakya-Mouni² till the translation of the seat of the religion to China³ in the fifth century of our era.

Second Period.—Masters of doctrine for eight centuries, a period of confusion and darkness.

Third Period.—Grand Lamas from the thirteenth century until now.⁴

The voyage of Fa-hi-an (which Abel Remusat has translated) was undertaken in the fifth century, with the express view of ascertaining the state of the Buddhist religion in the various countries where it then prevailed, and especially in those parts

¹ Abel Remusat, p. 138.

² The date of this personage, the principal incarnation of Buddha, is very variously given by different writers. Abel Remusat places it at about 1000 B.C.

³ Buddhism was first carried into China about 217 B.C. by a Samanéen, who was accompanied by eighteen monks.

⁴ *Voyages Bouddhiques*. Introd. p. xi.

where it first arose. The account there given of this system corresponds very much with the late Lamaism, or "reformed Buddhism," of Thibet. The following are among the practices especially noticed as having then been long established.

Monasteries,¹ of which the numbers were immense, and in which celibacy was practised; the monks adopted religious names;² refectories were used for meals, which were commenced at a given signal, and at which silence and great order were prescribed; processions of images were used, these figures being highly adorned;³ relics of saints and gods were venerated;⁴ an unknown dialect was employed in the sacred books, and as the language of religion;⁵ and a belief was held of a purifying process, by bodily suffering after death.⁶

Böhlen likewise examines the antiquity of these and other customs, which he traces to a period decidedly earlier than the Christian era, particularly noticing the use of monasteries,⁷ the practice of the celibate,⁸ the use of rosaries⁹ for numbering prayers, the tonsure,¹⁰ fasting,¹¹ and the veneration of relics,¹² which he considers proved to have existed among the Buddhists before they could have been communicated from the West.

The adoration of the goddess Maya, the virgin mother of Buddha, appears to be of very great antiquity. The following extract will show the conclusion at which Böhlen arrived after careful examination of this system, and of the antiquity of its origin.

"The first missionaries, after some residence in Thibet, were perfectly confounded by the exact counterfeit of their own ceremonies; and the fathers Grecher and Maffei adopt the language used by some old writers of the Church, when unable to deny the priority of certain heathen customs, and say that 'in Thibet, where no Christian had penetrated, the devil imitated the Catholic Church.'

"Some, in the confidence that succeeding travellers would mistake the followers of the Lama for Christians, were dishonest

¹ The first erection of religious houses is attributed to Wou-ya, 833 B.C. *Voyages Bouddhiques*, p. 67.

² *Ibid.* p. 2. ³ *Ibid.* p. 16. ⁴ *Ibid.* p. 28. ⁵ *Ibid.* p. 15. ⁶ *Ibid.* p. 84.

⁷ *Das alte Indien*, pp. 331-5. ⁸ *Ibid.* p. 341. ⁹ *Ibid.* p. 339.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 333.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 342. ¹² *Ibid.* p. 347.

enough to say they had converted thousands. The greater number of those who have written on the subject hold to the belief that this system is a corrupted Christianity of the earliest age. Staublin has made this the subject of a treatise, wherein he concludes that although the resemblance both in doctrines and customs is very strong, yet it does not appear historically true that Lamaism has been derived from Christianity, though probably the latter has exercised much influence over the pre-existing Lamaism. For myself, I believe the *prior* development of the *whole* system to be historically proved; and conclude with Kleucher that there is an essential principle of hierarchy which produces everywhere a similar development of external form, as we may perceive by observing the strong resemblance between modern Judaism, Lamaism, and Christianity, as also the hierarchies of Mexico and Muscovy, which closely resemble that of Thibet.”¹

At the same time it is right to add, that until further researches have made us more fully acquainted with the history and the religious systems of the East, it is not safe to pronounce any decided opinion upon these coincidences, or those more important ones relating to great doctrinal truths noticed in the two preceding appendices. To whatever cause these latter may be traceable,—whether to the influence of Christianity at some earlier period,—to intercourse with the descendants of Abraham,—to the remains of primæval tradition,—or to an innate belief, and divine idea, impressed on the heart of man,—they may surely, and should be, used by the Christian missionary to draw the followers of this system to the right knowledge of Him whom now they ignorantly and superstitiously worship.

¹ Das alte Indien, pp. 349, 350.

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LECTURE VIII.—Page 270.

“LET us now suppose the Christian missionary, after the example bequeathed by the Apostle of the Gentiles, who, in his inspired teaching, everywhere availed himself of the pre-existing lights ; who preached to the Greeks, from the imperfect notions of some of their own poets, the true doctrine of the Godhead ;—after this best example, let us suppose the Christian missionary to inculcate and enforce, from the concessions made to his hand by Mahometan philosophy, the Catholic mystery of the Trinity ; to take Mahometans on their own ground—and while, by a skilful exposition of the Hâyetian doctrine of Christ’s non-eternal deity, and created Godhead, he demonstrated the absurdity of pausing here,—to prove, from the reachings forth of philosophy which had led them thus far, the reasonableness and the necessity of going still further ; to show that the offices and attributes assigned by Mahomet himself to Jesus Christ, are inconsistent and incompatible with any theory, save that of his supreme and eternal Godhead ; that none other than the supreme and eternal God can judge the world ; that He alone who made the human heart, is competent to search into its secrets ; that a created Creator is a contradiction in terms ; that a participation in both natures, the human and the divine, is, to say the least, credible of Him, who holds the *acknowledged* place and office of Mediator and Intercessor between God and man ;—suppose these, and similar positions, plainly deducible from the Koran and its commentators, once brought clearly and conclusively to elucidate the authoritative declarations of Scripture, by men whose zeal shall shine forth on the benighted East, sustained by extensive knowledge, and tempered by a wise discretion, while their walk among men forms that best of commentaries, a living one, on the truth and power of these doctrines ;—suppose episcopal Christianity, in a word, one day taught and exemplified in Asia, as it was originally taught and exemplified in the Apostolic times ; and who, that reflects on the whole providential

history and relationship of the two religions, can doubt the eventual result throughout the Mahometan world?" Forster's *Mahometanism Unveiled*, vol. i. pp. 399, 400.

No. XLIII.

LECTURE VIII.—Page 271.

Preparation of Heathen Converts for Holy Baptism.

A SPECIMEN of what is referred to in the text is supplied by Mr. Medhurst, who was "sent out by the London Missionary Society, to labour for the benefit of China," and who presents, in the following extract, "the substance of the questions proposed to the candidates at the time of their baptism." *China and its Prospects*, p. 322.

"*Why do you wish to receive Christian baptism?—Because I feel myself to be a great sinner, and now desire to repent of my sins that I may obtain forgiveness.*

"*Do you think that baptism alone is able to save your soul?—No; but I believe that Jesus Christ, who commanded believers to be baptized, is able to save me.*

"*What has Jesus Christ done for you?—He suffered and died, to atone for my sins and procure my salvation.*

"*Do you wish to follow the doctrine of Christ, in preference to that of the Chinese sages?—I do, because I believe that Christ alone can guide me to happiness and heaven.*

"*Can you truly say that you have forsaken the vain superstitions of your countrymen?—I have hitherto foolishly worshipped idols, but now I desire to worship the living and true God only.*

"*Do you feel that you are a great sinner, and deserving of eternal punishment?—I know that I am a sinner, and that I ought to suffer the punishment due to sin.*

"*Do you think that any good performance of your own will be sufficient to save you?—All I can do will be wholly insuffi-*

cient to save me, and I pray for salvation through the merits of Christ alone.

“Is it with the view of advancing your worldly interests that you wish to be baptized?—No; my sole reason for desiring baptism is, that I may become a disciple of Jesus Christ.”

Surely, the meagre and unsatisfactory character of these questions as the test of that “faith” and “repentance” which are to be promised at the holy rite of baptism is most apparent. In what great verities of the Christian faith is belief here engaged? Where is there the profession of a settled will and purpose, through Divine grace, to keep God’s commandments? Actually, on the first head, there seems mention of nothing but that “Jesus Christ is able to save me.” And on the second, there are but the shallow expressions of “*I know* I am a sinner,” “*I desire* to repent of my sins,” “*I wish* to follow the doctrine of Christ.” There is no mention of belief in God the Father, none in God the Holy Ghost; no assertion of repentance beyond—*I know*, or *feel*, that I am a sinner; no engagement to obey beyond—I wish, or desire, to do so.

Contrast, then, with these, the solemn questions which, in substance, the Church has ever proposed to her catechumens at baptism, and which I venture, even here, to transcribe, if haply the words should chance to meet the eye of any one ignorant of her divine system:—

“Question. Dost thou renounce the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all the covetous desires of the same, and the carnal desires of the flesh, so that thou wilt not follow, nor be led by them?

“Answer. I renounce them all.

“Question. Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth?

“And in Jesus Christ his only-begotten Son our Lord? And that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost; born of the Virgin Mary; that he suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried; that he went down into hell, and also did rise again the third day; that he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; and from thence he shall come again at the end of the world, to judge the quick and the dead?”

“ And dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost ; the holy Catholic Church ; the communion of saints ; the remission of sins ; the resurrection of the flesh ; and everlasting life after death ?

“ *Answer.* All this I stedfastly believe.

“ *Question.* Wilt thou be baptized in this faith ?

“ *Answer.* That is my desire.

“ *Question.* Wilt thou then obediently keep God’s holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of thy life ?

“ *Answer.* I will endeavour so to do, God being my helper.”

Similar to this was the mode of questioning employed in all the early churches of the East and West. Thus, at Constantinople the question was asked of the candidates, “ ἀπετάξασθε τῷ Σατανᾷ ;” and it was answered, “ ἀπεταξάμεθα.” Again, after the solemn profession of faith as above, it was asked, “ συνετάξασθε τῷ Χριστῷ ;” and again it was replied, “ συνεταξάμεθα.” See Palmer’s Orig. Liturg. ii. pp. 178, 183.

NO. XLIV.

LECTURE VIII.—Page 272.

St. Augustine’s Treatise, De Catechizandis Rudibus.

THIS treatise is peculiarly valuable, as containing a concise, and more than commonly systematic, course of instruction, by which Augustine recommended that those who wished to become Christians should be initiated in the doctrines of the Christian faith. It was written, indeed, as a kind of directory for catechizing, at the request of a deacon of Carthage.

For this purpose he gives two specimens, one longer and the other shorter, of the mode of catechizing and instructing a person of plain understanding, who might be disposed to become a convert to Christianity. I put down the heads of the topics advanced, in the order in which they occur, that the leading

idea which runs throughout, and the skill with which a train of evidence is worked in with the other instructions, may be the more clearly perceived.

After an inquiry into the motives of the catechumen in professing his desire to become a Christian, the line of argument and of instruction is as follows, commencing at sect. 24 of the treatise :—

“ The absence of *rest* in all worldly pursuits, and the worthiness of the motive for desiring to become a Christian, viz. in order to obtain eternal rest.

“ This rest is typified by God’s resting after the creation of all things through the Word, Jesus Christ. Man lost this rest by the Fall, and recovers it through the coming of the Son of God in the flesh.

“ Man created, and placed in paradise ; then he fell. The character of God not injured thereby, nor by so many choosing wickedness ; since there are *two kingdoms* from the beginning, one of saints, the other of the wicked—mixed here, but to be separated hereafter.

“ In the ark, ‘ the sacrament of the deluge,’ was typified the Church.

“ Concerning Abraham and the Jewish people, in whom was typified the Church of Christ.

“ The Israelites in Egypt ; the exodus through the Red Sea a type of baptism, as the Paschal Lamb was of the atonement.

“ The law given to Moses ; which contained types of spiritual things belonging to Christ and the Church.

“ The establishment of the Jews in Jerusalem, in which is signified the free city, the heavenly Jerusalem. In David also was prefigured our true King, Christ.

“ The captivity of the Jews in Babylon, a type of the Church in bondage to the kings of this world.

“ The state of the Jews after the captivity, led by prophecy to look for Christ.

“ The six periods of the world. The sixth now existing for the recovery of man.

“ In the New Testament the spiritual life of man

delineated. *The history of the human life of Jesus Christ*, an example of contempt for worldly things.

“ His ascension and the gift of the Holy Ghost, that his disciples might be able to fulfil his law.

“ The conversion of the Jews, and the early unworldly state of the Church.

“ St. Paul preached to the Gentiles, and founded churches among them ; whence persecution arose against the Church.

“ The Church is spread, and pruned by persecutions and heresies.

“ Since these things have turned out true, other declarations of God will also, such as the future judgment.

“ An exhortation to trust in Christ, on the ground of the resurrection ;

“ And of the future life.

“ An exhortation to avoid the temptations of Satan, who tempts through not Pagans only, but Christians, heretics, and schismatics, and especially the depraved and ungodly ;

“ And to cling to the good.”

The catechumen, on professing belief in these things, is to receive initiation (*sacramentum salis*), the nature of the visible signs of invisible and divine things being explained to him.

The shorter Address.

“ Present things are transitory and lead to death. But God has rescued men from it by giving his Son to save them from Adam’s fall.

“ All things that happen in the Church were foretold. It was signified at the deluge, by the ark (*sacramentum Ecclesiæ*). The chosen people foretold to Abraham, and were formed. Christ was foretold to that people. His birth ; His crucifixion ; His resurrection ; His ascension ; the descent of the Holy Ghost on the Apostles ; all which has happened. It was foretold, by prophets and Jesus Christ, that His Church should spread through the world, through the sufferings of martyrs, as we see ; that heresies and schisms should arise, which has happened. Hence

faith is confirmed as to what is to come, viz. the judgment, and the resurrection of the body.

“An exhortation to beware of temptations from Pagans, and heretics, and the wicked, and to seek the society of the good.”

It can be scarcely needful to observe, upon reading this line of address, how, in dealing with an uninstructed but intelligent heathen, the external facts both of God's Providence and grace are dwelt upon; how a summary of the Creed, as detailing our blessed Lord's history, is intermixed with the argument; and how the idea of the Church, the city of God, is brought out as the visible witness of God's having visited the earth. Hence proceeds the whole course of exhortation to godliness.

NO. XLV.

LECTURE VIII.—Page 272.

Method of Instructing Converts in the Middle Ages.

THE following are instances of the course of instruction adopted by missionaries, in which it will be observed how the external facts of revealed truth were primarily brought forward.

The first passage is extracted from Mr. Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. pp. 486, 487, 6th edit.

“We have an intimation” (he says) “of the plan of instruction which they (the missionaries) adopted for the change of the pagan mind, in the following judicious directions of Alcuin for a progressive information:—

“‘This order should be pursued in teaching mature persons:

“‘First, They should be instructed in the immortality of the soul; in the future life; in its retribution of good and evil; and in the eternal duration of both conditions.

“‘Second, They should then be informed for what sins and crimes they will have to suffer with the devil everlasting

punishments ; and for what good and beneficial deeds they will enjoy unceasing glory with Christ.

“ ‘ Third, The faith of the Holy Trinity is then to be most diligently taught : and the coming of our Saviour into the world for the salvation of the human race. Afterwards, impress the mystery of His passion ; the truth of His resurrection ; His glorious ascension ; His future advent to judge all nations ; and the resurrection of our bodies.

“ ‘ Thus prepared and strengthened, the man may be baptized.’ ”¹

Similar to these topics are those advanced by Boniface, Bishop of Rome, in a letter to Edwin, King of England, A.D. 625, in order to persuade him to embrace the Christian faith. After the first salutation, he proceeds :—

“ *Supernæ igitur Majestatis elementia, quæ cuncta solo verbo præceptionis suæ condidit et creavit, cælum videlicet et terram, mare, et omnia quæ in eis sunt, dispositis ordinibus, quibus subsisterent, coæterni Verbi sui consilio, et Sancti Spiritûs unitate dispensans, hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem suam ex limo terræ plasmatum constituit, eique tantam præmii prærogativam indulsit, ut eum cunctis præponeret, atque servato termino præceptionis, æternitatis subsistentiâ præmuniret. Hunc ergo Deum, Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, quod est individua Trinitas, ab ortu solis usque ad occasum, humanum genus, quippe ut Creatorem omnium atque Factorem suum, salutifera confessione fidei veneratur et colit ; cui etiam summitates imperii rerumque potestates submissæ sunt, quia ejus dispositione omnium prælatio regnorum conceditur. Ejus ergo bonitatis misericordia totius creaturæ suæ dilatandæ subdi etiam in extremitate terræ positarum gentium corda frigida, Sancti Spiritûs fervore in sui quoque agnitione, mirabiliter est dignata succendere.*”

In conclusion, he sums up as follows :—“ *Accedite ergo ad agnitionem ejus qui vos creavit, qui in vobis vitæ insufflavit spiritum, qui pro vestra redemptione Filium suum unigenitum misit, ut vos ab originali peccato eriperet, et creptos de potestate nequitiae diabolicæ cœlestibus præmiis muneraret. Sus-*

¹ Alcuin, Op. p. 1484.

capite verba prædicatorum et Evangelium Dei, quod vobis annunciant ; quatenus credentes, sicut sæpius dictum est, in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum ejus Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, et inseparabilem Trinitatem, fugatis dæmoniorum sensibus, expulsaque à vobis sollicitatione venenosi et deceptibilis hostis, per aquam et Spiritum Sanctum renati, ei, cui credideritis, in splendore gloriæ sempiternæ cohabitare, ejus opitulante munificentia, valeatis." Bedæ, Hist. Eccl. b. ii. c. xi.

A similar course of instruction is mentioned in Blumhardt, (vol. iv. p. 218, extracted, as it appears, from the *Annales de l'Histoire Russe*, by Nestor, a monk of the convent of Kiev, who lived 1056—1116,) as that adopted by a missionary of the Greek Church, who was sent to convert Wladimir, King of Russia, A. D. 987. The points on which he dwelt were "The creation of the world,—the fall of man,—the deluge,—the elect people of God,—the coming of the Saviour,—the divine doctrine which He left in the world,—the eternal joys of the just,—the eternal misery of the unbelievers."

Directions as to the *order* in which the doctrines of the Christian faith are to be set before catechumens are given, likewise, by Thomas à Jesu (p. 877), and by Franciscus a Breno (part ii. p. 464). Additions to the pure faith are, as was to be expected, found in these latter writers ; but it may be worthy of consideration whether similar instructions, as to the order in which the verities of the Christian faith should be brought before the heathen mind, might not be useful to our missionaries.

It will, it is earnestly hoped, be perceived at once, that whatever difference may be discerned between such a mode of proceeding as is here, or in the text, alluded to, and that pursued in any other course of teaching, refers only to the *way* in which "Christ is preached." There are many who are too apt to charge those who do not adopt their *way* of setting forth the truth, with not preaching Christ. Surely, to bring the faith of "Him crucified" home to the hearts of unbelievers is the one object of all missionary teaching : and though one attempt this primarily by a direct appeal to internal conviction, and by the inculcation of the more sacred mysteries of our faith, and another attempt it by that method which seems authorized by

Scripture, and to have been adopted by the Apostles and by the most devoted missionaries, viz. by such preliminary teaching as may be needed, and especially by an exhibition of the external doctrines of the faith ; yet in the end aimed at there is no difference, it exists in the *method*.

No. XLVI.

LECTURE VIII.—Page 276.

Extract from Abel de Remusat on the Language of the Buddhist Writings in China.

“TROP souvent elles (les idées) sont rendues par des expressions qui ne correspondent à aucune des nôtres, qui se groupent d’une manière différente, et qui sont autant de métaphores prises d’objets matériels ou sensibles autres que ceux qui ont servi à former notre langage figuré. Le *vide* pour l’esprit, l’*ignorance* pour la *matière*, l’apparence pour le *corps*, les cinq *racines* pour nos *organes*, les cinq *poussières* pour nos *sens*, les cinq *amas* pour nos *facultés*, et une infinité d’autres termes du même genre, doivent être pris dans une acception si éloignée du cercle ordinaire de nos idées, que long-temps elle a pu échapper à l’intelligence la plus exacte des textes. Ce n’est rien en pareil cas, que d’entendre les radicaux, quand il reste encore à savoir quel sens abstrait ou détourné on a attaché, soit par caprice, soit par convention, à tel ou tel dérivé.

“Pour ne s’être arrêté qu’à la signification littérale et souvent absurde de ces expressions, on n’a pas su démêler, dans l’appréciation du système bouddhique, l’idée d’une double cause de tout ce qui existe, et l’on a prononcé que la loi de Bouddha était une loi de néant, que s’y conformer, c’est admettre le néant comme principe le l’être, et les êtres comme n’ayant qu’une existence illusoire. Un tel énoncé, et la rigueur des conséquences qu’il entraîne était un avertissement qui

aurait dû engager à chercher quelque autre interprétation moins directe, mais plus raisonnable. On aurait été conduit alors à faire sortir de ce langage énigmatique un ensemble rationnel d'idées opposé presque en tout point au *nihilisme* systématique que l'on avait reconnu de prime abord."

"Cependant il faut en convenir, tout cette antique sagesse des Indiens est comme ensevelie dans une idolâtrie tellement étrange, que l'on a pu être détourné par là de l'examen plus approfondi dont elle méritait d'être l'objet. Quels enseignements espérer d'une doctrine entachée d'autant d'extravagance et de déraison ? A vrai dire, les récits bizarres, les inventions ridicules, les conceptions fantastiques qui y abondent, étaient peu faits pour atténuer en rien l'opinion défavorable qu'on s'en était formée. Aussi les missionnaires, qui ne la jugèrent digne d'aucune réfutation sérieuse, l'ont ils rejetée presque sans l'examen. L'un d'eux la déclare 'le comble de la malice réduite en quintessence.'" *Relation des Voyages Bouddhiques*, Introd. pp. iv. v.

No. XLVII.

LECTURE VIII.—Page 292.

Missionaries from the British Isles in the Middle Ages.

THE following list will illustrate what is said in the text, and exhibit the missionary spirit which prevailed in the earlier Church of England. It will be noted that the two periods when it most largely flourished were the seventh and eighth and the eleventh centuries, on the recovery of the Church from the desolating effects of the Saxon and Danish invasions.

With the exception of the two Ewalds, the list is confined to those born and educated in the British Isles, and who became missionaries in foreign countries ; so that those shining lights who were engaged in converting the Anglo-Saxons, such as Aidan, Cœd, and Ninian, are not included. The date affixed

to the names (with the exception of some of the last), is that of their death, which makes many seem to belong to the eighth century, whose labours commenced in the seventh.

NAMES.	A.D.	COUNTRY.	SCENE OF LABOUR.
Fridolin . .	538	Scotland or Ireland.	Black Forest and Switzerland.
Columban & 12 companions.	616	Ireland	Vosges and Lombardy.
Livin . . .	633	Ireland	Flanders.
Gallus . . .	646	Ireland	Switzerland.
Killian . . .	688	Ireland	Artois and Thuringia.
Two Ewalds .	695	Ireland (educated in.)	Saxony.
Disen . . .	700	Ireland	France and Germany.
Swidbert . .	713	England	Northern Germany.
Plechelm . .	732	Northumbria . .	Lower Germany.
Willebrord .	738	Northumbria . .	Frisians.
Adelbert . .	740	Northumberland.	Lower Germany.
Werenfrid .	740	England	Germany.
Wigbert . .	747	England	Germany.
Burkard . .	752	Wessex	Bishop of Wurtzburg.
Boniface . .	755	England	Germany.
Winnebald .	760	England	Germany.
Lebwinus . .	772	England	Saxons.
Lullus . . .	788	England	Germany.
Willebald . .	790	England	Germany.
Willehad . .	791	Northumbria . .	Saxony.
Sigurd ² . .	993 ¹	England	Norway.
Gotebald . .	1004 ¹	England	Sweden.
Sigfrid ³ . .	1010—1067	England	Sweden and Norway.
Grimkill . .	1019 ¹	England	Norway.
Rodolph . .	1019 ¹	England	Norway.
Bernhardt . .	1019 ¹	England	Norway.
Wolfrid . .	1028	England	Sweden.

1 Commenced their mission. 2 Baptized Olof of Sweden in 1001. 3 Bishop of Wexia.

It is very striking to observe how, just at the same periods at which this spirit of missionary enterprise was exhibited in the British Isles, a similar zeal was manifested in the consolidation and extension of the Church at home by the erection of dioceses in England. The following list will show that almost all the bishoprics owe their origin to one of these two periods :—

St. Asaph	547	Exeter	1050
Canterbury	596	Sherborne, transferred to	
Wells	604	Salisbury	1056
Rochester	634	York (<i>Archbishopric</i>) . . .	1067
Winchester	650	Dorchester, transferred to	
Lichfield and Coventry . .	650	Lincoln	1070
Worcester	679	Chichester	1071
Hereford	680	Thetford, transferred to	
Durham	691	Norwich	1088
—		Bath and Wells	1088
Sodor and Man	898	Ely	1109
—		Carlisle	1123

London and Llandaff were instituted at an earlier period. The five others were founded on the suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII.

No. XLVIII.

LECTURE VIII.—Page 293.

Extract from a Sermon by Vieyra before John III. King of Portugal, on the Missions to Brazil.

VIEYRA was confessor to John III. and occupied a high station in the court of Portugal, where his rank, talents, and reputation for virtue opened to him the path to the highest honours in the state; the personal attachment borne him by the king was so strong that he used every means of command, persuasion, and stratagem to induce him to remain at court; but the zeal with which Vieyra had devoted himself to the service of the newly-conquered savages of Brazil was not to be

quenched, and a passage in one of his sermons, contained in the following extract from Southey's History of Brazil, Part II. pp. 495-6, will show the earnestness with which he urged before his monarch the responsibility towards the natives, which the acquisition of his new territory entailed upon him.

"His (Vieyra's) next object was to establish a '*Junta das Missoens*,' or missionary board, who should at all times watch over the interest of the missions."

"He touched upon this subject in a sermon preached before the court . . . and wound up the discourse thus:—'At this moment innumerable souls are perishing in Africa, innumerable souls in Asia, innumerable souls in America, for whom I come to solicit help . . . and all through our fault and our negligence. Verily there is not a more pious kingdom than Portugal, and yet I can neither understand our humanity, nor our faith, nor our devotion. For the souls which are in purgatory, there are so many brotherhoods, so many associations, so many expenses, so many solicitors (*Procuradores*), so many who plead for them day and night; and the poor souls who are going to hell have none of these! The souls in purgatory, though they are suffering, are secure of heaven at last; those who live and die in heathenism have not merely heaven doubtful, but hell and condemnation certain, and yet none to assist them! Is not this, then, the greatest work of compassion? Why therefore is there no brotherhood; why therefore is there no association; why therefore is there no junta; why therefore is there no solicitor for these poor souls?' Then addressing himself alternately to the crucifix and to the king there present, he proceeded, 'Lord, are not all these souls redeemed with your blood? . . . Sire, are not all these souls redeemed with the blood of Christ? Lord, have you not given the conversion of these souls in charge to the kings and kingdom of Portugal? . . . Sire, are not these souls given in charge with this kingdom by God to your majesty? Lord, is it well that these souls should be lost, and go to hell against your desire? . . . Sire, is it well that these souls should be lost, and go to hell through our fault? I do not expect this either from the Divine or the human Majesty? Now, when there are so many boards for the affairs of the world, let there be a board also for the affairs of souls, for they are worth

more than all the world. Let us all be undeceived! by how much the more the business of the salvation of souls shall proceed, so much better will the affairs of the world proceed also. The devil¹ offered all the kingdoms of the world for the perdition of one soul; and Christ, because he acted for the salvation of souls, is at this day Lord of all the kingdoms of the world. Thus it will happen to us also, and thus I promise in the name of God. Let me sanctify the words of the devil, and place them in the mouth of Christ. He showed him all the kingdoms of the world. . . God is showing us all the kingdoms of the New World, which in his bounty he gave us, and of which through our fault they have taken from us so great a part; and pointing to Africa, to Asia, and to America, he says, ‘All these will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me!’ . . . Kingdom of Portugal, I promise thee the restoration of all the kingdoms which paid thee tribute once, and the conquest of many other and more opulent ones in this New World, if thou, whom I have chosen for this end, will make them believe in me, and worship me,—if thou wilt fall down and worship me. This I promise from the goodness of God,—this I hope from the great zeal and charity of his Majesty,—this I trust in from the Christianity of all his ministers. And if we shall labour for the souls of others, this means, which is so much for God’s service, will be most efficacious towards obtaining the service of our own, in this life with great increase of grace, and in the next with the reward of glory.” Sermoens, tom. ii. pp. 83—85.

No. XLIX.

LECTURE VIII.—Page 296.

On the Qualifications required in Missionaries.

THE high qualifications, bodily and mental, required in a missionary, especially among Orientals, are set forth with his

¹ Alluding to the text of the day.

usual earnestness, by Fr. Xavier, in the following among other passages :—

“Je pense qu’il est de toute nécessité d’envoyer ici des hommes d’un mérite supérieur, doués d’une vertu à toute épreuve et d’une science peu commune, pour les diriger ensuite vers les académies japonaises. En voici la raison : c’est que tous les lettrés et tous ceux qui se piquent de sagesse et de prudence, lorsqu’on leur fait toucher au doigt leurs erreurs, se retranchent derrière le grand nombre d’hommes savants dont leurs pays, disent-ils, est abondamment pourvu, et qui, après avoir beaucoup lu, ont passé leur vie dans de profondes méditations. Il faut donc opposer maîtres à maîtres, il faut commencer par subjuguier ceux-ci par la voie du raisonnement, et les mettre de notre côté, puisque leur seul retranchement est de nier ce que nous affirmons ; de manière qu’après les avoir soumis, on entraînera facilement ceux qui ne s’appuient que sur leur autorité. Il faut donc pour cette mission, des hommes également savants et vertueux.

“Une constance inébranlable, une patience à toute épreuve, une humilité profonde, qui est le comble de toutes les vertus, doivent être l’apanage de ceux qu’on veut opposer à ces disputeurs et surtout aux bonzes.”

“Les choses étant ainsi, on conçoit aisément qu’il faut dans ce pays des hommes de génie, d’excellents dialecticiens, doués en même temps de cette éloquence qui sait descendre et se mettre de niveau avec le peuple qui l’écoute ; il faut des hommes prompts à poursuivre leurs adversaires lorsqu’ils fuient, et à les ramener sur le champ de bataille lorsqu’ils s’égarent ; qui aient le talent d’arracher au mensonge le masque de la vérité dont il se couvre, de mettre à découvert la hideuse nudité des sophismes, de faire toucher et palper aux sens les plus grossiers l’incohérence des dogmes dictés par l’esprit d’imposture, faire voir comment ils se contredirent, se choquent et se heurtent entre eux. Voilà ce qui couvre les bonzes de confusion et ce qui les atterre, comme aussi lorsqu’on les saisit et qu’on les enveloppe dans un raisonnement fort serré dont ils ne peuvent rompre la chaîne. A ces hautes qualités de l’âme, il faut ajouter une robuste constitution propre à supporter la rigueur des hivers. . . L’expérience semble avoir démontré que les hommes nés sous

un climat froid, sont généralement plus adroits et plus ingénieux." Lettres de Fr. Xavier, tom. ii. pp. 229--232.

The notion that men of second-rate powers and general qualifications are adequate for the purposes of sustaining, or, perhaps, rearing, the Church in the colonies is thus met by the Bishop of Australia, in one of his letters:—

"What do you think can be done by a merely *passable* man going into a parish here, (or in New Zealand,) where a congregation has to be formed, *ab initio*, where there exists no feeling of love or veneration ready to his purpose, but it must be kindled by the earnestness and ability of the teacher? You know what the Bishop of New Zealand's acquirements are, and in what spirit *he* has gone forth. Well, be assured that his zeal and talents will not be *more* than adequate to fulfil the purposes of that holy undertaking. It is not to be expected that we can have all his *equals* in those respects; but they must be *uales* if not *equales*; that is, they must have zeal and talents like his, though of a subordinate character."

I CANNOT close this volume more appropriately than with the following document, which, as bearing the signatures of the united bench of Bishops, has the weight of an act of the Church. It is the more important, since it is the first movement of the kind that has been witnessed of later years;—and it is to be earnestly hoped that both the principle that is asserted in it, and the authority with which it is put forth, will so move the members of the Church of England, that by their willing offerings, they will enable their Spiritual Rulers to carry into their full effect the proposals which they have herein published. It needs only to be added, that, in consequence of this Declaration, the important Colonies of New Zealand, the British possessions in the Mediterranean, and Tasmania, have been blessed with the perfect form and polity of the Church amongst them.

Declaration of the Archbishops and Bishops.

At a Meeting of Archbishops and Bishops, held at Lambeth, on the Tuesday in Whitsun week, 1841, the following DECLARATION was agreed to by all present:—

We, the undersigned Archbishops and Bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland, contemplate with deep concern the insufficient provision which has been hitherto made for the spiritual care of the members of our National Church residing in the British Colonies, and in distant parts of the world, especially as it regards the want of a systematic superintendence of the Clergy, and the absence of those ordinances, the administration of which is committed to the episcopal Order. We therefore hold it to be our duty, in compliance with the Resolutions of a Meeting convened by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 27th of April last, to undertake the charge of the Fund for the Endowment of additional Bishoprics in the Colonies, and to become responsible for its application.

On due consideration of the relative claims of those Dependencies of the Empire which require our assistance, we are of opinion, that the immediate erection of Bishoprics is much to be desired in the following places:—

NEW ZEALAND.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

THE BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN

VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

THE MEDITERRANEAN.

CEYLON.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

When competent provision shall have been made for the endowment of these Bishopries, regard must be had to the claims of

SIERRA LEONE.

BRITISH GUIANA.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

PORT PHILLIP.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

NORTHERN INDIA.

SOUTHERN INDIA.

In the first instance, we propose that an Episcopal See be established at the seat of government in New Zealand, offers having been already made which appear to obviate all difficulty as to endowment.

Our next object will be to make a similar provision for the congregations of our own communion, established in the islands of the Mediterranean, and in the countries bordering upon that sea; and it is evident that the position of Malta is such as will render it the most convenient point of communication with them, as well as with the Bishops of the ancient Churches of the East, to whom our Church has been for many centuries known only by name.

We propose, therefore, that a See be fixed at Valetta,¹ the residence of the English Government, and that its jurisdiction extend to all the Clergy of our Church residing within the limits above specified. In this city, through the munificence of Her Majesty the Queen Dowager, a Church is in course of erection, which, when completed, will form a suitable Cathedral.

Our attention will then be directed to the countries named in the foregoing lists, without binding ourselves to the exact order therein followed, or precluding ourselves from granting assistance to any place where means may be found for the earlier endowment of a Bishopric.

In no case shall we proceed without the concurrence of Her Majesty's Government; and we think it expedient to appoint a Standing Committee, consisting of

¹ The Standing Committee of Bishops has recommended that the See be founded at Gibraltar.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
 THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK,
 THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH,
 THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN,
 THE BISHOP OF LONDON,
 THE BISHOP OF DURHAM,
 THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,
 THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN,
 THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER,

with full powers to confer with the Ministers of the Crown, and to arrange measures in concert with them, for the erection of Bishoprics in the places above enumerated.

We appoint as our Treasurers, the Hon. Mr. Justice Coleridge, the Venerable Archdeacon Hale, and W. E. Gladstone, Esq. M.P.; and as Honorary Secretary, the Rev. Ernest Hawkins.

For the attainment of these most desirable objects, a sum of money will be required, large as to its actual amount, but small when compared with the means which this country possesses, by the bounty of Divine Providence, for advancing the glory of God and the welfare of mankind. Under a deep feeling of the sacredness and importance of this great work, and in the hope that Almighty God may graciously dispose the hearts of his servants to a corresponding measure of liberality, we earnestly commend it to the good will, the assistance, and the prayers of all the Members of our Church.

W. CANTUAR.

J. G. ARMAGH.

C. J. LONDON.

E. DUNELM.

C. WINTON.

C. BANGOR.

G. ROCHESTER.

E. LLANDAFF.

J. H. GLOUCESTER & BRISTOL.

J. ELY.

E. SARUM.

E. NORWICH.

T. HEREFORD.

J. LICHFIELD.

C. ST. DAVID'S.

P. N. CHICHESTER.

R. DERRY & RAPHOE.

T. V. SODOR & MAN.

We, the undersigned, desire to express our concurrence in the foregoing declaration:—

E. EBOR.

RD. DUBLIN.

GEO. H. BATH & WELLS.

W. ST. ASAPH.

J. LINCOLN.

H. CARLISLE.

J. B. CHESTER.

R. OXFORD.

H. EXETER.

C. T. RIPON.

G. PETERBOROUGH.

H. WORCESTER.

GEORGE KILMORE.

C. KILDARE.

ROBT. P. CLOGHER.

J. ELPHIN.

R. OSSORY & FERNS.

JAMES DROMORE.

RD. DOWN & CONNOR.

S. CORK.

EDMOND LIMERICK.

STEPHEN CASHIEL.

LUDLOW KILLALOE &

CLONFERT.

THOMAS TUAM.

CHARLES MEATH.

THE END.

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